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JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LXVII.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &c.)

Nos. I to IV.—1898: (WITH 14 PLATES).



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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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J. A. S. B.

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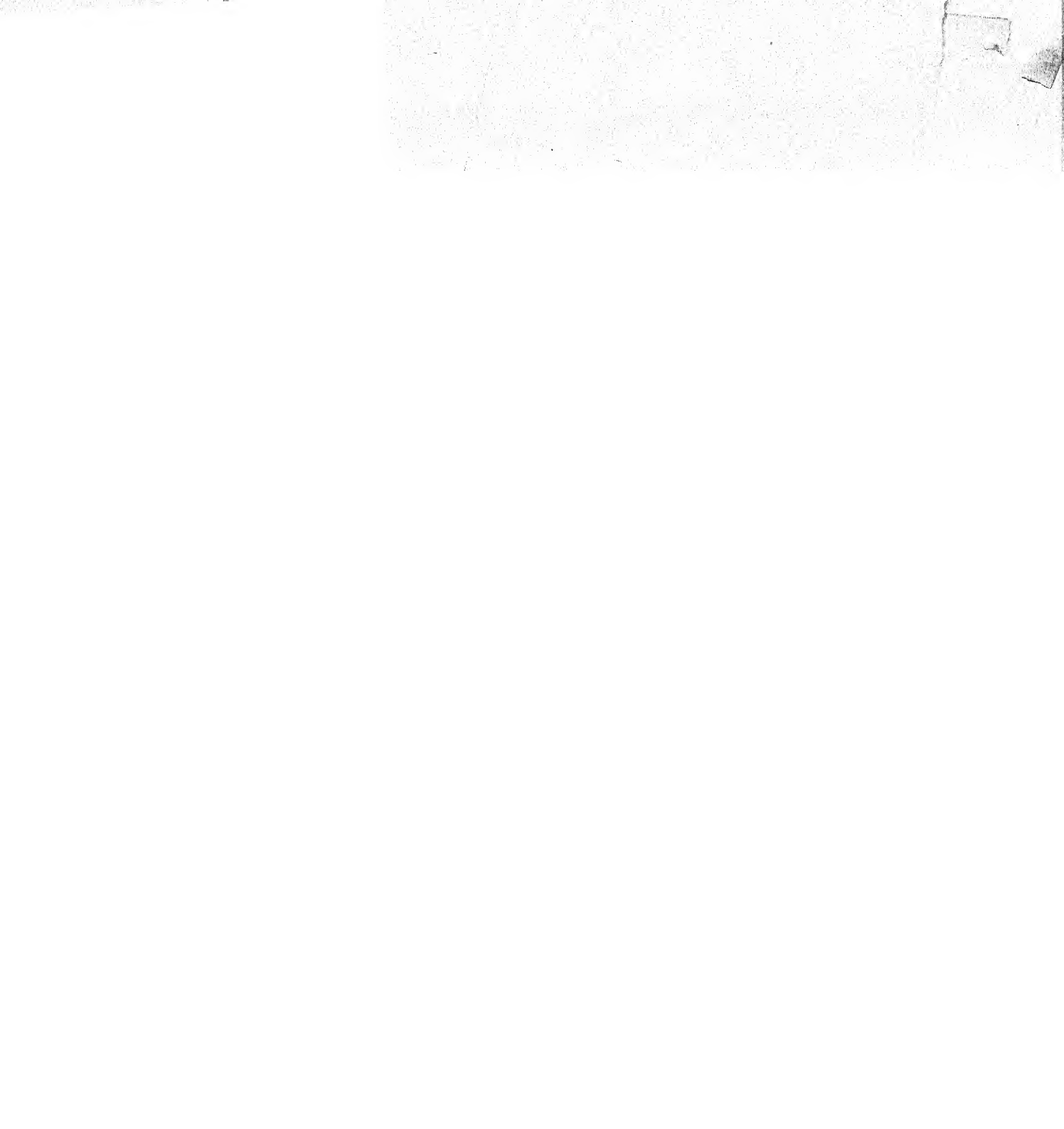
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ERRATA.

P.	L.	For	Read
32	Last	<i>tsok^u</i>	<i>tsŏk^u</i>
"	"	<i>tswak^u</i>	<i>tsŏk^u</i>
34	16	<i>dob^u</i>	<i>dŏb^u</i>
"	"	<i>dwabiñ</i>	<i>dŏbiñ</i>
35	6	39	38
47	11-14	Substitute the following—	

If the final consonant of a noun in this declension is preceded by *u*, that *u* is changed to *a* in all cases except the Nominative Singular. Thus, वाँदुर *wādur*, a monkey; nom. pl., वाँदरौ *wādar*; instr. pl. वाँदरौ स्तितिन् *wādarau syin*: करन् *karun*, the act of doing; acc. sg. करनस् *karanas*: पस्तुक् *pöstukh*, a book; nom. pl., पस्तुक् *postakh*.

75	4	<i>kunasatāth</i>	<i>kunasatath</i> (and so throughout the seventies up to 78).
"	24	<i>kunanamāth</i>	<i>kunanamath</i> (and so throughout the nineties up to 99).
91	3	<i>w or v</i>	<i>w or v, or</i>
196	4	ग्राकञ् <i>grākañ</i>	ग्राकञ् <i>grakañ</i>
232	19	substances	substantives
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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1898.

Notes on new inscriptions discovered by Major Deane.—By M. A. STEIN.

Part I.

(With Plates I–VII.)

[Read December, 1897.]

It was in the autumn of 1894, that a paper read by M. SENART, before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists and subsequently published in the *Journal asiatique*¹ drew the attention of all Indologists to the remarkable series of epigraphical documents, which the zeal of Major H. A. DEANE, C.S.I., then Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, had brought to light on the northern border of this district and in the independent territory beyond it. These inscriptions from the ancient *Gandhāra* and *Udyāna* have attracted all the more interest as the characters which appear in the great majority of them, have previously been wholly unknown and differ strangely from any known system of Indian writing.

Major DEANE has since continued his epigraphical search with unflinching energy, notwithstanding the heavy and responsible official duties which his appointment as Political Officer during the Chitral campaign and subsequently as Political Agent for Swat and Dir must

¹ *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne.*—V. *Les Récentes Découvertes du major Deane.* *Journal asiatique*, 1894, tome iv., pp. 332–353; 504–518. Also in reprint, *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*, Fascic. 5., 1895.

have thrown upon him. The exceptional success which has attended his efforts in the interest of research, is amply illustrated by the fact that the number of new inscriptions which he has forwarded to Lahore since M. SENART's publication, is nearly twice as great again as the number comprised in the latter. These epigraphical documents have reached Lahore either in the form of the actual stones where these were obtainable, or as ink impressions on paper or cloth, taken by Major DEANE's agents in the case of inscriptions beyond British territory which could not be secured otherwise.

The stones with inscriptions have been deposited without exception in the Lahore Museum which contains now also the stones previously communicated to M. SENART for publication. In order to keep together in the same place, as far as possible, all that bears on the epigraphy of those interesting regions, Major DEANE has been kind enough to entrust to me the impressions above referred to. For this mark of confidence which I must value all the more in view of the great trouble and the expense connected with the collection of these materials, I may be allowed to express here publicly my grateful acknowledgments.

By making me in this manner the depositary for at least a part of his discoveries, Major DEANE has also, as it were, put me under the obligation of bringing them to the notice of fellow students. From a personal point of view I might well have wished that the honour of this first publication may have fallen on one more competent than myself and better able to do it justice. The want of necessary leisure at Lahore and the obligation of devoting whatever time was at my disposal in Kashmir to my translation of Kalhana's Chronicle, have prevented me from making that minute study of the inscriptions 'in unknown characters' which seems indispensable even for the slightest advance towards their decipherment. As these inscriptions form the great majority of the new finds, I must also regret my want of acquaintance with that field of philological research which, as will be seen below, might possibly furnish a clue to these puzzling documents.

Under these circumstances, I hope to meet best the interests of those who are in a position to undertake a serious study of these monuments, if I avail myself without further delay of the opportunity offered by the Asiatic Society's kindness in order to publish the new inscriptions in unknown characters in faithful mechanical reproductions. To the latter I have added such information regarding the find-spots, present condition, etc., of the inscriptions as Major DEANE has communicated either along with the inscriptions themselves or in subsequent letters addressed to me. My own remarks must necessarily be restricted to a few observations which the examination of the docu-

ments themselves and the grouping on the map of their places of origin have suggested to me.

In a separate notice I intend to discuss the few short Sanskrit inscriptions in Çaradâ characters which have reached Lahore along with those in unknown characters.

The order in which the inscriptions have been shown in the following list, is chiefly based on topographical considerations which will be explained below. I have indicated for each inscription or group of inscriptions the information received regarding it from Major DEANE, but have reserved further details regarding the position of the find-spots for the succeeding remarks. In each case it has been shown whether the stone itself or only an impression has been received. For purposes of subsequent reference I have given in brackets the numbers which the inscriptions bear in the Museum Catalogue or in my own list of impressions. The plates accompanying this paper show the inscriptions reduced, according to a simple scale, to one-half, one-fourth or one-eighth of the original. The actual size of the characters and of the written surface of a stone can thus be ascertained with ease and accuracy.

In the case of all stones deposited in the Museum and in that of a number of impressions, the reproductions given in the plates have been prepared from photographs which my friend Mr. F. H. ANDREWS, Principal of the Mayo School of Art and Curator of the Lahore Museum, has most kindly placed at my disposal. For the help thus rendered I wish to record here my sincere obligation.

M. SENART's remarks, *l.c.* pp. 13 sqq., have already made clear the serious difficulty which is caused by the impossibility of determining in most cases the position intended for the inscription, *i.e.*, what is to be considered as its top or foot. For a few inscriptions (Nos. 39, 40, 43, 53) Major DEANE has indicated the original position, and this point has accordingly been noted in the list. For the great mass of the stones and impressions, however, no direct evidence of this kind is available. I have accordingly been obliged to follow M. SENART's example and to arrange the reproductions on the plates either with reference to certain peculiarities in the shape of the stones which suggested a particular position, or by the still less safe guidance of the direction of writing which the characters themselves seemed to me to exhibit. As I have as little as my learned predecessor succeeded in finding conclusive evidence for any inscription as to the direction in which the characters are to be read, it is scarcely necessary to point out that the position in which all these inscriptions are shown on the plates, is purely conjectural.

The list of the inscriptions is as follows:—

1. Stone, obtained from *Spankharra*.^a (Mus. 64; scale of reproduction, one-half of original).

2. Stone, found in mound at *Khalil Banda* (near Toru, Yusufzai). (Mus. 37; scale one-half).

3-19. Impressions on cloth "of small stones found buried together near an old Buddhist wall and at the foot of a cliff. The place is near *Darwazgai* and about a mile S. S. E. from *Spankharra*." "These little stones were buried in a small receptacle at the foot of the cliff and covered over with another stone." Nos. 5 and 6 inscribed on two sides of the same stone. (Nos. xxi.-xxxvii.; scale one-half).

20. Impression of a stone "in possession of a Sheikh at *Spankharra*. It is not known where it was originally found. Used by him for baking his food on." (No. xx.; scale one-half).

21-23. Impressions on cloth of 3 small stones sent to Lahore Museum in August 1896. The characters resemble those on impressions 3-19. [A subsequent note by Major DEANE informs me that these stones form part of the *Darwazgai* find, but were obtained since the first lot of impressions, i.e., Nos. 3-19.] (Nos. xli.-xliii.; scale one-half).

24. Stone "from the hill above *Elai*, Boner; (no ruin near)." (Mus. 65; scale one-half).

25. Stone "buried in the soil near an old spring at *Elai*, Boner." (Mus. 63; scale one-half).

26. Impression on paper of an inscription at *Tangi*, near *Miangam* village, on Ilm, Boner." (No. i.; scale one-half).

27. Impression on cloth "of an inscription on a stone in the wall of the house of a Mulla, *Torsak* in Boner. It is said to have been taken originally from some old ruins with other stones for building purposes." (No. v.; scale one-half).

28. Impression on cloth "of a few letters inscribed on a stone lying in the jungle in the *Malandri* Valley which is the continuation of the *Sudhum* Valley towards the Boner Hills and *Malandri* Pass." (No. vi.; scale one-half).

[28b. Impression on paper (No. xixb.) "of an inscription on a stone lying near the village of *Padshah* in Boner, broken in half," is too

^a I have followed throughout in local names the spelling of Major Deane's notes, and have not attempted to transcribe them according to the Society's system, as their actual pronunciation is unknown to me.

indistinct to be reproduced. The few characters of which traces are visible, resemble those of Nos. 26, 28 above.]

29. Impression on paper "of a stone at *Ilm-o-Mianz* in Boner, near Padshah and Bichounai on Ilm. It was at one time built into the walls of a Masjid and removed as unfit to be in a Masjid wall. It is still lying in the Masjid in the Miangam village, too large to be moved."
(No. iii.; scale one-eighth.)

30. Impression on paper of "broken bit of stone lying near the other at *Ilm-o-Mianz*, Boner."

(No. ii.; scale one-fourth.)

31. Impression on cloth of inscription "found near *Shahbazgarhi*."
Stone sent to Lahore Museum.

(No. xxxix.; scale one-half.)

32-34. Impressions on cloth of inscriptions "lying close to the village of *Chargam* in *Puran*, a country above Boner. They were found bound together, one on the top of the other. Ruins exist near where they were found, but nothing is known as to where they originally came from." In a note dated 13th April, 1896, Major DEANE adds: "The three inscriptions are on separate slabs, and the three of them had been fastened together with hasps in order evidently to remove them. As the fastening had been made by the stones having been bored through, I can only conjecture that they were put together by the original inhabitants of the country and they must have lain a long time in the place where they were found."

(Nos. xvii., xviii., xix.; scales one-eighth, one-fourth and one-half, respectively. Impression No. 32 being of exceptional length had to be shown on the plate divided into two portions. A part of the central piece of the impression, measuring $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches on plate, has been reproduced both in the left and right portions.)

35. Impression on paper of inscription found in "the valley leading up from Surkhavi to *Surah* in Chamlā. It was found about 5 miles from Surkhavi and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from *Surah*."

(No. xxxviii.; scale one-fourth.)

36. Impressions on cloth of two sides of stone "found at *Shera* in Amazai territory."

(No. xl.; sent to Lahore Museum; scale one-half.)

37. Stone "found in *Asgram*."

(Mus. 60; scale one-half.)

38. Stone "found lying amongst ruins at *Asgram*."

(Mus. 62; scale one-half.)

39. Stone "from *Palosdarra*; in situ, round edge uppermost."

(Mus. 69; scale one-fourth. Reproduced in woodcut by M. Senart, p. 25.)

40. Stone "from *Palosdarra*; found in situ."

(Mus. 66; scale one-fourth.)

41. Stone "from *Palosdarra*."

(Mus. 83; scale one-fourth.)

42. Stone "from *Palosdarra*."

(Mus. 84; scale one-fourth.)

43. Stone "from *Suludheri*; in situ, standing on end, thin end top."

(Mus. 68; scale one-fourth.)

44. Stone "from *Khudukhel* territory."

(Mus. 82; scale one-fourth.)

45. Stone "from an old wall at *Sarpatti*, a spur of Mahaban overlooking Chamla."

(Mus. 61; scale one-fourth.)

46. Stone "from *Kaldarra*, near Dargai."

(Mus. 77; scale one-fourth.)

47. Stone "found at *Zangi Khan Banda*, Boner. Had been removed from ruin and built into wall of Masjid. Came probably from site of Nos. 48-50."

(Mus. 70; scale one-fourth.)

48-50. Stones "dug up from what appears to be an old Memorial Stūpa completely buried in the ground at *Bughdarra* which is the ravine near *Zangi Khan Banda* in Boner."

(Mus. 79-81; scale of No. 48 one-fourth, of Nos. 49 and 50 one-half.)

51. Stone "from *Khrappa*, Panjpao, Boner."

(Mus. 67; thin piece of slatey stone with characters on both sides; scale one-fourth.)

52. Impression on paper of inscription "from rock on hill above *Odigram*, Swat."

(No. vii.; scale one-fourth.)

53. Impression on paper "from rock near *Odigram*, Upper Swat."

(No. ix.; scale one-fourth.)

54. Impression on paper "taken from a stone lying near *Kanai*, *Ilaqa Kana*, near *Ghorband* between Swat and the Indus."

(No. viii.; scale one-fourth.)

55-60. Impressions on cloth of Sgraffitti "on rocks found close together on the banks of the *Swat* river, just above *Ramora* Fort on the right bank and at the boundary of the *Adinzai* Valley."

(Nos. xi.-xvi.; scale one-eighth.)

M. SENART had already clearly recognized the fact that the inscriptions before him showed at least three distinct types of writing, each of which, on examining the find-spots of the inscriptions exhibiting it, could be connected with a well-defined locality or territorial division. These types which he accordingly distinguished under the very appropriate name of *Spankharra*, *Boner* and *Mahaban*, are all largely represented among the new inscriptions. It is a fresh proof of M. SENART's well-known penetration and sagacity as an epigraphist that the local distribution of the new inscriptions entirely supports his grouping.

This fact is most convincingly illustrated in the case of M. SENART's first group, that of *Spankharra*. Though M. SENART had only a single small inscription—probably a fragment—to place under this head, he did not fail to realize that its characters, both in form and execution, differ considerably from those met with in the other two classes. Their curiously irregular scrawly lines made M. SENART compare them rightly enough to mere Sgraffitti. These we now find reappearing on not less than twenty-three specimens which all, with one doubtful exception, come from the same locality or its immediate vicinity. *Spankharra* lies in Ranizai territory just beyond the northernmost point of the *Hashtnagar Tahsil*, circ. $71^{\circ} 42'$ E. Long. $34^{\circ} 27'$ N. Lat. according to the Revenue Survey Map of the Peshawar District.³

No. 1 is a fragment resembling closely M. SENART's No. 1. More interesting is the collection of small stones Nos. 3-19, 21-23 which were found packed together "in a small receptacle at the foot of a cliff" near *Darwazgai*, about a mile from *Spankharra*. It would be of little use in the absence of an accurate description of the spot to make conjectures as to the purpose of this peculiar deposit. But it deserves to be noted that all the little stones show different groups of characters, some so curiously twisted and cursive as to suggest monograms or signatures. Some stones, in particular Nos. 18, 19, seem to contain also a few characters resembling those found on the inscriptions of the second (*Boner*) and third (*Mahaban*) classes. But from the majority of the characters and the general appearance of the writing it is evident that none of the stones can be specially connected with either of these

³ "*District Peshawar*"; scale 1 inch to 4 miles; photozincographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1884. This map shows the "independent" territory immediately to the north of the Peshawar District with more detail than the corresponding sheet of the Atlas of India or other maps at present accessible to the public. As the topography of the hill tracts beyond the border is (apart from peaks fixed trigonometrically) not shown on the basis of any regular survey, the geographical positions indicated above for localities in that territory cannot be accurate. They are intended merely to facilitate identification on the map named.

classes. The same remark applies to No. 20, the "Sheikh's baking stone" which is the largest specimen of this type of writing and also exhibits a closer approach to regular lines.

Regarding No. 2, the only piece showing the characters of the Spankharra type, which was not actually obtained from that locality, Major DEANE believes that it may have been carried to *Bandu Khulil* (a small hamlet south of Hoti-Mardan in Yusufzai) by a *Tālib*, it having been a *Tālib* from whom he got it.

The second type which M. SENART designated as that of *Boner*, was represented in his collection by four inscriptions all found near the village of *Bichounai* on the southern slopes of Mount Ilm, which divides Boner and Swat. M. SENART has already called attention, *l. c.*, p. 17, to the relatively large number of complicated and elaborate characters found in this group. This peculiarity induced him to separate it from the third, notwithstanding the common occurrence of certain simpler signs in both of them.

That this distinction was justified, is now shown by the new inscriptions gathered from the same region, Nos. 24–33. They all show a great variety of signs of a peculiarly elaborate type, either identical with or similar to the characters found on the Bichounai inscriptions.

As the find-spots of the new inscriptions are situated with one exception within the territory known as Boner, the designation given to this group by M. SENART has proved singularly felicitous. At the same time we can see from a glance at the map that the localities which have furnished these inscriptions, are spread over a considerable tract of country.

Nos. 24 and 25 come from *Elai* situated in the central part of Boner, circ. $72^{\circ} 28'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 32'$ N. Lat. No. 26 is a somewhat indistinct impression of a stone found near *Miangam*, a village on Ilm and hence probably not far from Bichounai. *Ilm* itself is shown on the 'Atlas of India' Sheet No. 14, as the name of the mountain range whose highest point is Peak No. 81 (9,341 feet) as marked by the Trigonometrical Survey. *Torsak*, where the original of No. 27 is said to be walled into a house, is a place about 3 miles due west of *Elai*.

Ilm-o-Mianz, where Nos. 29 and 30 come from, is a village which according to Major DEANE's information is situated somewhere on the southern slopes of Mount Ilm and near to Bichounai and Padshah. From the latter place was obtained the impression No. 28b. Still further to the north lies apparently *Chargam*, in Puran, which has furnished the interesting inscriptions Nos. 32–34.

To the south we are taken again by the small inscription No. 28 which was picked up in the *Malandri* Valley leading up from Rustam

and Surkhahi to the Malandri Pass, circ. $72^{\circ}26'$ E. long., $34^{\circ}24'$ N. Lat. Finally we have in No. 31, a small stone recently found at *Shahbazgarhi* far to the south of the Boner hills.

Some significance may, perhaps, be attached to the fact that this group of inscriptions which seems topographically to extend over the widest area, is also the one in which varieties of the same system of writing can be most readily distinguished.

In their clearest and sharpest form the characters appear in the four inscriptions from *Bichounai* (M. Senart's Nos. 2-5) which look as if engraved by the same mason or after an identical pattern. Closest to them range in this respect our Nos. 26-27 from *Tangi* and *Torsak*, though here the characters bear a slightly more rounded form. Similar in type are also Nos. 24-25 from *Elai*, but the execution is far less careful. Both these little inscriptions are cut into rough stones of small size which do not appear to have ever belonged to a building or other structure.

With a peculiarly cursive yet clear enough form of these characters we meet on the three inscriptions from *Chargam*, Nos. 32-34, which, as Major DEANE's note seems to show, were originally fastened together. No. 34 contains only a few stray signs which, however, can be traced also in the far more regular lines of the other two inscriptions.

Nos. 28 and 31 from *Malandri* and *Shahbazgarhi*, respectively, are too small to show any striking peculiarity of their own. Such, however, is amply displayed by the large-sized characters of No. 29 from *Ilm-o-Mianz*. I should have hesitated to class this inscription with the Boner group, were it not that on closer examination the peculiarity of these characters appears to be due more to a kind of ornamentation with hooks and flourishes than to any real difference of type. The fragment No. 30 from the same locality can certainly not be separated from this group, the shape of the few signs approaching closely to some found on No. 24.

With the Boner group too, I have thought it best to arrange Nos. 35 and 36 which come both from valleys lying to the north of the Mahaban range and opening into Boner proper. No. 35 found near *Surah*, circ. $72^{\circ}36'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ}24'$ N. Lat., shows a few characters resembling the Boner type, arranged in a circle amidst what are evidently symbols. A similar arrangement is exhibited by M. SENART's No. 4 from *Bichounai*.

No. 36 which comes from *Shera*, a locality of uncertain position in Amazai territory, is a small loose stone showing on both sides scrawls which may be compared with a few signs occurring on No. 30 and elsewhere.

I cannot conclude this brief notice of the inscriptions of the Boner group without pointing out that this is the only one in which inscriptions of an approximately monumental look have yet been met with. The inscriptions of the first or Spankharra group are scarcely more than Sgraffitti on small stones which show no mark of having been specially prepared for bearing records. The inscriptions of the third group to be noticed next are also without exception engraved on stones of comparatively small size which, whether found detached or fitted into walls, are equally irregular in their shape. Against this, we find in the Boner group several inscriptions of greater size, like M. SENART'S No. 5 and our Nos. 27, 29, 30 which are engraved in regular lines and evidently with far more care and routine than those referred to.

The new inscriptions of the third or *Mahaban* group, Nos. 37-41, come almost all from the identical localities from which M. SENART'S specimens were procured. *Asgram* lies at the end of a spur which runs down from Mount Mahaban to the south, at a point circ. $72^{\circ} 45'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 7'$ N. Lat. *Palosdarra* according to Major DEANE'S note seems to be situated about $72^{\circ} 35'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 9'$ N. Lat. close to the village Boka marked on the map near the Border towards Khudukhel territory. *Suludheri* seems to be about 3 to 4 miles to the north of Boka. The Khudukhel territory begins immediately to the west and north of Suludheri. *Sarpatti* is the name of a spur running to the north-west of Mahaban; its highest point is marked on the map at $72^{\circ} 40'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 21'$ N. Lat.

Whereas the find-spots of all the other inscriptions of this group are closely gathered round the spurs of Mount Mahaban, No. 46 which comes from *Kaklarra* near Dargai takes us far away to the west into the vicinity of the Malakand Pass.

Regarding the characters which appear on these stones in such bewildering variety I have nothing to add to M. SENART'S remarks, p. 21 *sqq.* No. 41 is of some interest as a socket cut into the stone, evidently with the intention of fitting it to another, makes it probable that the original position of the stone was the one shown in the plate. At the same time it appears that the inscription was engraved *after* the stone had been fitted in the above manner, as none of the characters falling near the cut edges seem to be mutilated. If a conclusion can be drawn from the fact that in the three outer lines which follow the rounded contour of the stone, the terminal signs below are cut up to the very edge of the socket, a direction of the writing from right to left would appear probable.

Perhaps the most curious of the new inscriptions in unknown characters are the five stones Nos. 47-51, which come from *Zangi Khan*

Banda and *Khrappa* in Boner. The characters which they exhibit, differ so strikingly in form and arrangement from those found on any of the inscriptions hitherto mentioned, that I cannot hesitate to recognize in them a fourth independent type. As both Zangi Khan Banda and Khrappa fall within the tract occupied by the clan of the *Nurizai*, I should suggest provisionally for these inscriptions the name of *Nurizai* group. The first named locality from which four of the stones have been obtained, lies according to the map close to the range of the hills which forms the southern boundary of Boner towards British territory, circ. $72^{\circ} 25'$ E. Long., $34^{\circ} 26'$ N. Lat. *Khrappa* is marked as *Krapu* on the map, some 7 miles in a direct line to the north-west of Zangi Khan Banda and not far from Elhi.

The inscriptions of the new group are already outwardly distinguished from the rest by the peculiar shape of the stones on which they are engraved. These are all longish pieces of a slaty material which as the dowel on No. 47 and the socket on No. 48 show, were evidently intended to be placed upright, i.e. with one of the narrower sides topmost. Another distinguishing feature is the engraved frame of straight lines which encloses all inscriptions except No. 49. On the reverse of No. 51 and in part of No. 47 the characters are actually attached to these lines.

The characters themselves which seem to consist of a series of curves, angles and simple strokes either separate or combined, do not show (except perhaps in part of No. 47), any approach to a linear arrangement such as we have found in the inscriptions of the other groups. If the information recorded regarding Nos. 48-50 is correct in describing their find-spots as a buried *Stūpa*, we could have little doubt as to the votive character of these small monuments which is suggested already by their shape.

The only reason for grouping together in the list and plates the series of impressions shown in Nos. 52-60, is that the stones from which they were taken are all situated in *Swat* territory or in its immediate vicinity. Leaving aside Nos. 55-60 in which some marks are perhaps mere symbols, we find that the characters of the other three inscriptions differ markedly from those found in the four groups above described, without yet showing any distinct affinity amongst themselves. No. 52 comes, perhaps, nearest to the type of the *Mahaban* group, but exhibits yet peculiarities which make it inadvisable for the present to range it under that head. In No. 53 again, which like the last-named inscription is engraved on a rock near *Odigram* (some ten miles north-east of Thana on the *Swat* river), we have characters of a peculiar rounded shape which bear no resemblance whatever to those of the third group.

No. 54 comes from the vicinity of *Ghorband* which is described by Major DEANE as a "range of hills running parallel with the Indus for a short distance and northward or possibly a little N. W. from the Ilm and Dossira mountains." A few of the simple characters shown by this inscription occur also in the Mahaban group. Others, however, in particular the compounded (?) signs in the first two lines which are attached to horizontal strokes, I have not been able to trace in the large number of inscriptions we already possess of that type.

Until a larger number of inscriptions is obtained from that region, it must be left undecided whether we have in Nos. 52-54 fresh types of writing or only marked local variations of one or the other known group, such as M. SENART has very appropriately suggested (p. 18 note) in the case of Nos. 25 and 26 of his series.

The impressions reproduced in Nos. 55-60 exhibit a series of large Sgraffitti which are found engraved on rocks situated close together at a point on the upper course of the Swat river. Most frequent among them are signs which seem nothing but variations of the Triṇḍa symbol. In the largest of these 'inscriptions' No. 55, and also in No. 56 there appear a few signs which faintly resemble Devanāgarī or Čāradā letters. On the whole, however, it is improbable that we have in these detached markings anything more than emblematic signs or possibly ideograms of an unknown system.⁴

Large as the number of inscriptions is, which has rewarded Major DEANE's search during the last two years, we look yet in vain among them for one which would furnish a clue to the puzzling characters they display in so bewildering variety. The new inscriptions exhibit as little as those contained in M. SENART's publication any well-defined groups of characters which by their repeated occurrence in particular positions might allow of some conclusion as to their significance or the character of their language.

There are not wanting in the new inscriptions stray signs which show a curious resemblance to the characters of one or the other known alphabets. But after what M. SENART and Prof. BÜHLER have said on this point, it is scarcely necessary to emphasize how hazardous it would be to take the mere resemblance of a few characters, unsupported by other evidence, as the basis for further speculations.

In view of these circumstances it appeared as if we should have to wait with resignation for the discovery of a bilingual stone or some other lucky accident of this kind, before we could approach even the preliminary question of the origin and date of these puzzling monu-

⁴ [For further information regarding the position of these rock-carvings and the manner of their reproduction compare the "Supplementary Notes," p. 17 below.]

ments. All the more gratified we must feel at the recent discovery of a document which has thrown unexpected light on an obscure period of the history of Gandhāra and the neighbouring regions, and which also seems to show us the direction where the means for the future solution of the riddle may have to be sought for.

I refer to the Itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim *Ou-K'ong*, of which Professors LÉVI and CHAVANNES have published a translation, accompanied by very valuable notes, in the *Journal asiatique*, for September-October, 1895. From *Ou-K'ong's* account we learn that the territories of Udyāna and Gandhāra from which our inscriptions come, were during the pilgrim's sojourn there, A.D. 753-759, 763-764, united under the rule of a dynasty which claimed descent from Kaniska and was zealously attached to the Buddhist faith. Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES rightly recognize in these rulers Albērūnī's '*Shāhiyas of Kābul*,' 'Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin.'⁵ From the names given to members of this royal family both in *Ou-K'ong's* Itinerary and the *T'ang Annals* the Editors conclude with great probability, that these princes belonged actually to a dynasty of Turkish nationality and language.⁶

The interesting historical fact thus established fully justifies the Editors in attaching importance to the curious similarity which M. SENART and Prof. BÜHLER had already noticed between certain characters in Major DEANE's inscriptions and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the banks of the Orkhon deciphered by Prof. V. THOMSEN in 1893.⁷ This resemblance deserves all the more attention in view of the fact that the date of these Turkish inscriptions (first

⁵ See Albērūnī's *India*, translated by Prof. Sachau, ii., pp. 10 sqq. Compare regarding this dynasty my paper *Zur Geschichte der Qāhis von Kābul* in 'Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth,' 1893, pp. 195 sqq.

⁶ See *Journal asiatique*, 1895, vi., p. 378 sq.

It must be noted that the titles *t'e-le* and *t'e-k'in-li* which are most characteristically Turkish, are given in *Ou-K'ong's* narrative not as those of princes belonging to the ruling family of *K'ien-t'o-lo* (Gandhāra), but as designations of 'sons of the king of the *Tou-kiue* or Turks;' see *l. c.*, pp. 354, 357. Though mentioned as founders of Vihāras, both in Kaśmīr and Gandhāra, these princes need not have actually resided in either of these countries. Sufficient evidence, however, remains for the above assumption in the name of *Ou-san Te-le-li*, mentioned as king of Ki-pin in the Chinese Annals, A.D. 739; in the word *houli* which is found in the names of several Vihāras visited by *Ou-K'ong* in Gandhāra, and which seems to be a Turkish term, and finally in the name of the ambassador *Sa-po-ta-kan* whom the ruler of Gandhāra sent to the Chinese court in *Ou-K'ong's* time.

⁷ According to Prof. BÜHLER's observation, '*On the origin of the Brāhmī Alphabet*,' 1895, p. 89, the alphabets of the Orkhon and Yenissei inscriptions show more than a dozen of the signs found in Major DEANE's inscriptions.

half of the 8th century), as already noted by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES, falls close to the time of Ou-K'ong's residence in the monasteries of Gandhāra and Udyāna.

These coincidences have led the Editors of Ou-K'ong's Itinerary to suggest a Turkish origin for our inscriptions. They are certainly striking enough to make it most desirable that the unknown characters of the latter should be fully analysed and compared with the Orkhon texts by a competent Turkish scholar. Unable to undertake even the preliminary steps for such a task, I must content myself here with showing that the conclusions drawn by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES from Ou-K'ong as to the existence of a Turkish dominion in Gandhāra, are well supported also by what Hiuen Tsiang had recorded of those regions more than a century earlier.

From Ou-K'ong's reference to Gandhāra as the site of 'the eastern capital of *Ki-pin*' (p. 349), it is certain that in his time as in that of the earlier Chinese pilgrim, Gandhāra was under the same rule as the Upper Valley of the Kābul River.⁸ Hiuen Tsiang tells us distinctly (*Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i., p. 98) that the Gandhāra of his time 'was governed by deputies from *Kia-pi-shi*.' Accordingly we find that when the pilgrim on his return-journey crossed the Indus near *Uda-bhāṇḍa*, the old capital of Gandhāra at the site of the present *Und*, he was received there by the king of *Kia-pi-shi*; compare *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, translated by Beal, p. 192.

Kia-pi-shi or Kapiça is undoubtedly the *Kapisa* of Ptolemy and identical with the hill-region between Kābul and the southern foot of the Hindukush. In describing its inhabitants Hiuen Tsiang tells us that 'their literature is like that of the Tukhāra (*Tu-ho-lo*) country, but the customs, common language and rules of behaviour are somewhat different' (*Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 54).

Retracing then our steps in the pilgrim's narrative to the country of the *Tu-ho-lo*, i.e., Tukhāristan on the Upper Oxus, we find the numerous petty states constituting it described as all dependent on the *Tuk-kine* tribes, i.e., the Turks (see *Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 37 sq.). The language of the inhabitants is said to "differ somewhat from that of other countries. The number of radical letters in their language is twenty-five; by combining these, they express all objects around them. Their writing is across the page, and they read from left to right. Their literary records have increased gradually."

⁸ From the Chinese notices regarding *Ki-pin*, lucidly set forth by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES, *loc. cit.* pp. 371 sqq., it appears that *Ki-pin* as a geographical term in Chinese texts has had a varying employ at different periods. On the whole, however, preponderating evidence points to *Ki-pin* having been originally the designation of the Upper Kābul Valley.

Meagre as these details are they show yet clearly that in searching for the national and literary affinities of the race which held the rule of Kia-pi-shi and Gandhāra in Hiuen Tsiang's time, we have to look to the Turkish tribes in the north and not in the direction of India. A century later Udyāna too had passed under the same dominion. Whereas Hiuen Tsiang speaks yet of independent kings in Udyāna (U-chang-na, *Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 121), we see from a passage of the T'ang Annals (*L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong*, p. 349 note) that A.D. 745 this territory was already united with Gandhāra and Kia-pi-shi under the same rule. In that year P'o-p'o, king of Ki-pin, is said to have received the imperial authority for assuming the title of 'King of Ki-pin and Ou-chang.'

This historical fact would allow us to account for the occurrence of Turkish inscriptions in regions like Swat and Boner which undoubtedly belonged to Udyāna, notwithstanding the record which Hiuen Tsiang has left us as to the connection of the language and writing of Udyāna with that of India.⁹

The publications of the Danish Academy and the Finno-Ugrian Society, containing the Orkhon inscriptions, are to my regret not accessible to me at present. I am, therefore, unable to ascertain with which of the several types of writing distinguished above their characters show most affinity.

Perhaps, a comparison of the Orkhon inscriptions will also throw some light on the relation of these types amongst each other. The first three as well as the fifth have undoubtedly numerous simple characters in common and might represent modifications of one and the same system of writing adapted to different languages or dialects. It is, however, evident that other explanations are also possible, and that all conjectures on the subject must for the present remain extremely hazardous.

Camp, Kashmir: 19th September, 1896.

⁹ "Their language though different in some points, yet greatly resembles that of India. Their written characters and their rules of etiquette are also of a mixed character as before." See *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 120.

The local names of Swat and Boner, as far as shown on the map, with their frequent terminations in *-grām* and *-kōt*, seem to support the belief that these regions were at a time preceding the Pathān conquest inhabited by a population which in its great mass spoke an Indian language. This circumstance, however, could well be reconciled with a prolonged dominion over those territories of Turkish masters or even their temporary occupation by a Turkish-speaking population.

Without going for analogies to Europe where, e.g., the Balkan Peninsula would furnish them in plenty, we may refer to the local nomenclature of the Upper Derajāt along the right Indus bank and to that of Yusufzai-Gandhāra itself. This has preserved its Indian character notwithstanding the fact that the great mass of the population in these tracts has for centuries back been speaking Puṣṭhū.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

More than a year has passed between the time when this paper was first sent to the press, and the date of its publication. This long delay has been due solely to the difficulty first experienced in providing for the adequate reproduction of the inscriptions. On reference to the only Indian establishment capable of undertaking such work it was found that the required plates could not be prepared there except at a cost which would have considerably exceeded the funds available for this purpose. Even then it seemed doubtful whether the process to be employed would secure satisfactory reproductions of those impressions on paper or cloth which were faint in color or otherwise difficult to reproduce mechanically.

In view of these circumstances, it was particularly gratifying that Mr. W. GRIGGS, of Peckham, London, whose photographic and chromolithographic works have already on many occasions served the interests of Indian archæological and epigraphical research, kindly offered to undertake the task on terms acceptable to the Society's Council. A visit paid to England during the last summer enabled me to watch personally the preparation of the plates. I was thus in a position to appreciate more thoroughly the exceptional care and attention which Mr. GRIGGS has bestowed on the work. The difficulties resulting from the deficient nature of part of the available materials could not have been overcome so successfully without Mr. GRIGGS' personal efforts, and for these my special thanks are due to him.

For the technical defects in many of the available impressions it is easy to account in the light of the explanations with which Major DEANE has favoured me on a subsequent occasion. The persons through whose hands almost all these impressions have been obtained were wandering Pathān Mullās and Tālībs. Individuals of this class, being aware of Major DEANE's interest in epigraphical remains, had for some time back been in the habit of bringing to him any inscribed stones which they came across and could conveniently carry along. Some of them on their wanderings across the border had seen similar stones which either on account of their size or for other reasons could not easily be removed.

Fanaticism among transfrontier tribes, like those of Boner and the Utman Khel, is still strong enough to make the open removal of inscribed stones which may be suspected to be of a 'Kāfir' origin and to give

eventually information as to hidden treasures, etc., a business of considerable risk even for such people. Major DEANE, therefore, thought it best to initiate his occasional visitors into the art of taking impressions on paper or cloth and to provide them with the necessary materials in order to secure through them impressions of stones not otherwise obtainable. Some of them incited by the hope of a small remuneration have actually carried out Major DEANE's wishes, and the impressions now published (together with a considerable number of others subsequently received) represent the result of their efforts.

It would in no case be reasonable to expect from agents of this peculiar type such work as we are accustomed to from trained assistants of archaeological surveyors in other parts of India. But indeed the awkward conditions under which generally these impressions have to be secured, would render the taking of really good impressions impossible even if Mullās and Tālibs could be got to learn systematically all the niceties of the art. In order to avoid detection and the consequent risks, Major DEANE's agents have been obliged to take their impressions in the manner which is easiest and quickest. The orthodox method of taking an impression from the stone by means of wetted paper and with the use of brush and ink, would no doubt have given far better results. Yet by following this lengthy process the operator might more than once have exposed himself to the chance of being shot at by a suspicious tribesman while he watched his paper drying. In two or three cases Major Deane's agents have in fact been fired at even while using the quicker process.

It is therefore scarcely surprising to find that Major DEANE's agents have in most cases contented themselves with a simpler if less effective process. After roughly inking the raised surface of the stone a piece of cloth or paper was pressed against it. On this the inscribed parts ought to appear in white. In some instances (see, *e.g.*, Nos. 27, 33) very fair impressions were thus obtained. In others, however, the evident hurry with which the stone was inked or the cloth (paper) removed, has led to the impression becoming blurred and accordingly very difficult to reproduce (see, *e.g.*, Nos. 30, 32). In those few cases where the operator tried to obtain a sunk paper-impression by the use of a brush (see Nos. 29, 35) his achievement has scarcely been more satisfactory.

A short visit which I had the good fortune to pay to the Lower Swat Valley last Christmas under Major DEANE's auspices, enabled me to examine personally the rock-carved inscriptions reproduced in Nos. 55-60 of Plate VII. These were the only ones among the inscriptions here published from impressions which were then accessible for inspection. I found the two rocks exhibiting them exactly in the posi-

tion indicated by the remarks quoted above, p. 6. They lie side by side at the foot of a hill-spur which runs down to the right bank of the Swat river, about three miles above Fort *Chakdarra* and quite close to the little hamlet of *Khushmaqām*. Between them and the precipitous river bank passes the road to *Shamozai* territory and Upper Swat, undoubtedly an important route of communication since ancient times. The face of both rocks is naturally smooth and thus seems to offer itself as a convenient place of record.

The large marks which appear on them bear distinctly the character of Sgraffitti. They are cut only to a very slight depth in the hard rock, and form small detached groups spreading irregularly over the surface. Some of these little groups are now almost completely effaced. The careless execution of the marks makes it impossible to obtain an impression of them by any ordinary mechanical process. The attempt I made to photograph them, also failed, partly owing to the faint appearance of the outlines and partly on account of the glare reflected from the rock. For the purpose of the present publication I was, therefore, obliged to fall back upon the impressions which Major DEANE had originally communicated to me.

For these we are indebted to Surgeon-Captain Dr. D. W. SUTHERLAND, who while stationed at Chakdarra in charge of the Swat Civil Hospital 1895-97, had devoted a great deal of attention to the antiquities of the neighbourhood. Dr. SUTHERLAND, finding it impracticable to secure an impression in any other fashion, had carefully inked by hand the whole surface around what appeared to him engraved marks, and had taken his cloth impressions from the thus prepared surface. As he had carried out this process with great care and skill, the impressions of the several groups of Sgraffitti prepared by him can be accepted as very accurate eye-copies of what can still be distinguished with any certainty. On Plate VII. I have shown the groups Nos. 55-57 approximately in the relative positions which they occupy on the rock to the right. The Sgraffitti visible on the left rock are reproduced in the same way in Nos. 58-60.

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During the time which has passed since the above paper was written, Major DEANE has continued with equal zeal and success the collection of epigraphical remains from the interesting regions which lie within the sphere of his influence. The number of inscriptions in unknown characters since secured by him, including those obtained during the recent expedition to Upper Swat, has gradually risen to above fifty. Among them is one coming from Boner which owing to the large num-

ber of characters it contains is likely to prove important for the eventual decipherment of these puzzling documents. Major DEANE's efforts have, however, not yet succeeded in bringing to light a single 'bilinguis,' and in the absence of such a guide the first step in that direction remains as difficult as before. The preparation of Plates showing Major DEANE's recent acquisitions has already being taken in hand by Mr. GRIGGS, and with the help of the Asiatic Society I hope to publish soon the whole of these new finds in a Second Series.

In conclusion I may be allowed to state that I have discussed the questions concerning the Turkish dominion in Gandhāra and Udyāna more fully in a paper recently read before the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest ¹⁰. This I hope to make soon more accessible by an English translation.

Lahore: 5th November, 1897.

¹⁰ "A fehér Hunok és rokon törzsek indiai szerepléséről (White Huns and kindred tribes in Indian history)"; see *Budapesti Szemle*, August, 1897.

the god Mahādēva whenever he wished, came to Bengal, the elderly Buddhist Bhikṣus wished to call the demigods who guarded Buddhism in other lands to their aid, but the youthful Buddhist Pandits, not listening to their advice, held religious controversy with Ćamkara and were defeated.³ They lost twenty-five endowed religious institutions together with their furniture and other properties; and 500 Buddhist Upāsakas were converted to the creed of the Tirthikas (Brāhmaṇas). When Ćamkar-ācārya sent his letter of challenge to Nālanda to hold a religious disputation with him, Dharma Kirtti⁴ was brought from the Dekhan by king Prabhāsa. In the great controversy which was held at Benares between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists in which the king presided, Pandit Dharma Kirtti gained the victory. All the people interested in the controversy became converted to Buddhism. The king, having been converted, established a large number of Buddhist institutions. Though defeated, Ćamkara did not embrace Buddhism. After his death which occurred by drowning himself in the Ganges, his followers were mostly converted to Buddhism.

In Ōṭivisa (Orissa) Ćamkara's disciple, a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭācārya, became powerful. He defeated the Buddhist Pandit Kulīṇa Cṛeṣṭha and others in disputation, with the result that the Buddhist temples were destroyed by the Tirthikas, and their endowed properties appropriated to the use of the latter. In the east Vimala Candra,⁵ son of Bāla Candra, had established his power over

³ རེ་འོ་ཆེ་རྒྱ་ལམ་རྩུ་མུ་ཐུ་ལོ་ས་འ་ལྷ་ཅ་ཅས་ཚོད་པ་ཐད་པའ་འཕྱིན་བཟང་ས་ཆེ་
འདི་ལོ་ལྷོ་ཐུགས་ཀས་ཐུན་ཅངས་དེ་ཐུག་པོ་འཔ་གསལ་ལྷོ་ས་ལྷ་འ་ཀ་སེར་ཐུ་ཀད་དང་
ཐམ་ཐེ་མཉམ་པ་ཐུན་འཕྱོད་པའེ་དབྱས་ཐུ་བཟོད་ཆེ་ཐུན་ཐམ་ཐེ་ཀད་པར་བཀྲལ་པས།

(*Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ*, 106.)

⁴ ཆོས་ཐམས་དང་པོད་ཐུ་ཐམ་པོ་ཅན་མགམ་ཐེར་འོ། (*Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ*, 107.)

Dharma Kirtti and Gam-po king of Tibet were said to be of the same time.

Gam-po married the daughter of Emperor Thai Jung of China, who according to Chinese chronology reigned in 600 A.D.

(*Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ*, 107.)

⁵ བླ་ག་ལ་དང་ཐུ་མ་ཅ་པ་དང་དེ་རྒྱ་ཅི་ཐུ་མ་ལ་ལྷོ་ལ་ཅན་ཅེ་ཐུ་པི་མ་ལ་
ཅན་ཅས་མདའ་བཟུར་དེ་

(*Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ*, 105.)

Bāla Candra was the son of Sirāha Candra who reigned in Bengal. Bāla Candra extended his power to Tirhut and Kāmarūpa. At this time Magadha was ruled by the elder son of King Harṣa.

the three great provinces, *viz* :—Tirabhukti, Bangāla and Kāmarūpa. He patronized the *Mādhyaṃika* philosophers, Āri Gupta, the pupil of Supradatta and also the Ācāryas Ratna Kirtti and Amara Siddha. King Vimala Candra had married a sister of king Bhartṛhari, the last of the line of the Candras who ruled in Mālava, and had two sons, *viz* :—Lalita Candra and Gōpī Candra. After king Bhartṛhari had renounced the world in order to live the life of an ascetic, Lalita Candra succeeded him. King Vimala Candra was succeeded by Gōpī Candra, during whose reign the seat of Government was at Cāṭigrāma (modern Chittagong) in Eastern Bengal. In Cāṭigrāma there were in that early time many *Tīrthika* temples and Buddhist Vihāras. The Buddhist of Cāṭigrāma belonged to the Tāntrik Mahāyāna school. To the south of Cāṭigrāma was the kingdom of Rakhān or Arakhan. In Cāṭigrāma there was Jālandhara, in which flames of fire appeared mixed up with water.

The Buddhist Siddha Bālapāda was born at Nagara Thata in Sindu, in the family of a rich Āndra merchant. He became a Buddhist and studied a large number of Buddhist works under eminent Buddhist sages. Then entering the holy order of Bhikṣus, he visited Udyāna (modern Swat and Chitral) and there practised *yōga*. From there he proceeded to Jālandhara (a place somewhere between Kaṇnir and Nēpāl), where appeared flames of fire in the midst of water and stone. For his long residence there he was called the Saint of Jālandhara. He visited Nēpāl and there causing the chief *Liṅga* of Śiva to be split by the efficacy of his charms, converted the Nepalese to Tāntrik Buddhism. From Nēpāl he proceeded to the city of Avanti in Mālava. At this time Bhartṛhari, a member of the old royal family of Mālava, had succeeded to the throne on the death of Viṣṇu Rāja. Bālapāda converted a large number of people at Avanti to Buddhism by performing miracles. Once several thousand goats were being sacrificed by the Brāhmins before some deity. Suddenly by his charms he changed them into so many wolves. This frightened the people who, imbibing faith in Buddha, desisted from animal sacrifice. He initiated a man of the weaver-caste, aged 99 years, in the mystic cult of Tāntrik Buddhism and admitted a young Brāhman to the holy order, who afterwards became an adept in mysticism and was called Kṛṣṇ-ācārya (the performer of black magic). Lastly, once while he was seated in deep meditation at the foot of a tree in a grove outside the city of Avanti, some robbers came and sat round him. At night they committed robbery in the city and obtained good many precious things. Thinking that good luck had attended them on account of their having seen the sage, they made him large presents of pearl rosaries and other precious things which weighed several hundred ounces. When they had gone away, the people saw in

his possession the stolen goods, and so they took him to the king, who sentenced him to be impaled. The sage was fixed to the stake, and there he remained still and motionless as in *yōga*. When necessary, he used to get away to make ablution in the river, and then again quietly resumed his seat on the stake. On the seventh day of his impalement the king came to inspect the scene. Seeing that the sage sat unhurt on the stake, he became unhappy for the wrong he had done to one who was guiltless and holy. He became a devout follower of Bālapāda, who was so called on account of his child-like simplicity of character.⁶ From Mālava the sage proceeded to the kingdom of Bengal which was ruled by Gōpi Candra,⁷ a son of king Vimala Candra. Gōpi Candra was young when he became king. Being a handsome person, he was very coquettish in his manners. He often used to behold his beautiful face in the mirror. The sage Bālapāda visited Jālandhara (probably the modern Sitākūṇḍa), where flames of fire were seen in the midst of water and stone. Coming to the city of Cāṭigrāma, he entered the king's orchard and sat meanly attired in meditation at the foot of some trees. It is said that when he felt thirsty, he summoned the cocoa-nuts that were on the tree to come to his lips. They came and, pouring into his mouth their watery contents, returned at his bidding to their respective places. The mother of the king observed this curious phenomenon with wonder, and knowing that the sage who looked mean like a Hādi (sweeper of roads) was a *Siddha*, she asked her royal son to call the sage to his presence to get some charms by which he might gain longevity. The sage whispered a *mantra* into the king's ears, and at the same time asked him to put his hand in an empty earthen pot. "Do you perceive anything in it?" asked the sage. "No, nothing" was the reply.

⁶ བེ་ཕྱི་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་འདས་ཀྱིས་མ་ལ་ལུ་ཐུག་བཞུགས་ཀྱིས་པ་སྐྱེ་ཏི་ཆ་རི་བྱུང་ནས་
ང་མོ་ཞེས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ལ་ལ་ཅན་ཅ་ལ་པམ་མར་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་ཆོ་པི་ཅན་ཅ་བྱུང་ནས་

(Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ, 108.)

ཐུག་པོ་སྐྱེ་ཏི་ཆ་རི་ཆེ་ཐུག་པོ་ཆོ་པི་ཅན་ཅའི་ཞང་པོ་ཡོན་ཆེ་ (Kāhbab Dun-dan, 30.)

⁷ མར་སྐྱེ་པ་ལུ་ཐུག་པོ་ཆོ་པི་ཅན་ཅའི་ཡུལ་ཅ་

(Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ, 109.)

སྐྱེ་པ་ལུ་ཅ་ཆ་མ་ཞེས་པའི་ཐོང་ཆེར་ཕྱི་ཕྱི་མང་ཁ་འཆག་པའི་
ཆ་རི་པའི་ཆུ་བརྒྱུད་ཞིང་ཡོད་པ་ལས། ཡུལ་དའི་ཐུག་པོ་ཆེན་ཆུ་ཆོ་པི་ཅན་ཅ་ཞེས་ཐུ་
བ་ཐུག་ཕྱིན་པ་འཆོད་ནས་འིང་པོ་མ་ལོན་པ་ཞེས་ཡོད་པས། འང་ཆེ་གཟུགས་མཆོས་པ་
ལ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟ་ཆགས་དེ། མ་ལོང་བཞུ་ཞིང་ཕྱི་བྱུང་འཆོལ་པ་ལ་ (Kāhbab Dun-dan, 28.)

to have been brought from India the foundation of Lamaism. Its shape is essentially that of the ordinary cap used in the colder parts of India during the winter, with lappets coming over the cap and the nape of the neck, which lappets are folded up as an outer brim to the cap in the hot part of the day. Such a cap is often worn by Indian ascetics when travelling in the winter time. It is quite probable that this kind of cap was introduced either by Padma Sambhāna, Ānti Rakṣita or Atiṣa (Dīpaṃkara) into Tibet from Magadha. From the account of the origin of the *Pan-zva rtse riñ* (called in Waddell's list *Panchen sneriñ*) quoted from *Pagsam Jon-zan*, it appears that the Buddhist *Yōgis* and Pandits used caps either during their residence in the monastery or at the time of travel. It is very probable that the cap originated in Udyāna, the country from which both Padma Sambhāna and Bālapāda came. The latter or earlier Buddhist Pandits who visited Cāṭigrāma must have introduced the use of caps among the Buddhist Pandits who were called *Mahantas*. Pilgrims from Kaṣmīr and the Panjab still visit Sitākunḍa which has been a holy place both to the Brāhmanas and Buddhists from very early time. In describing *Panchen sneriñ* Dr. Waddell observes:—It is only worn with these longtails by the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, the Gaḥdan Khri-rinpo-chē, and the Tibetan Lama King or regent, during the assembly mass and empowering. *Pan-zva rtse riñ*,¹⁴ that is the Pandits cap with long or pointed top is generally made with the top point bent a little like a thorn of a rose, symbolical of penetration and piercing.

The name Paṇḍita Vihāra and the story of disputation with the *Tīrthikas* (Brāhmaṇas) goes to show that Chittagong was place of learning sixteen centuries ago if not earlier still.

¹⁴ *Pan-zva rtse riñ* means the long pointed cap of the Pandits. *Pan* or *Panchen*, means great Pandits, *zva* cap, *rtse* 'point' (Skt. *agra*), and *riñ* 'long.'

On the Kāçmīrī Noun.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S.

[Read December, 1897.]

A. Gender.

Kāçmīrī nouns are either masculine or feminine. There is no neuter gender in the language. In the case of pronouns, however, there is a relic of a neuter gender, each pronoun having three forms, one, for male living beings, another, for female living beings, and a third for things without life, whether their grammatical gender is masculine or feminine.

The sixth part of Īçvara-kaula's *Kāçmīraçabdāmṛta* deals with gender. The following rules are abstracted from it.

The feminine gender is used for the following purposes (vi. 18.) :—

(a.) To denote the female sex, *e.g.*

Masc.

Fem.

मंगुर *mōṅgur^u*, a male kid

मंगुर *mōṅger^u*, a female kid.

वटुर *waṭsh^u*, a male calf

वटुर *waṭsh^{er}*, a female calf.

(b.) To denote smallness, *e.g.*

कतुर *katur^u*, a large potsherd

कतुर *kat^{er}^u*, a small potsherd.

(d.) To denote artificiality, *e.g.*

चाख *tsā^s*, a cough

चाख *tsāk^h^{er}*, an artificial cough,
a "hem."

(e.) To denote similarity, *e.g.*

कोथ *koth^u*, a load

कोथ *kwatsh^u*, a bag.

ततुर *tatur^u*, smarting (of a wound)

ततुर *tat^{er}^u*, the pain felt by an
angry person.

(f.) To denote special meanings, *e.g.*

नर *nar^u*, a sleeve

नर *nar^u*, an arm.

खर *khar^u*, having a scald-head

खर *khar^u*, the disease of scald-head.

1. Words signifying human castes or professions, form their feminines by adding बाय् *bāy* (vi. 2) [to the oblique form used in the case of compound words. *Vide post*, under that head]. [The word then means 'wife of so and so'].

Thus :—

बट् <i>baṭṭ</i> , a Brāhmaṇ	बट्बाय् <i>baṭabāy</i> , a wife of a Brāhmaṇ.
दर <i>dar</i> , name of a Brāhmaṇ caste	दरबाय् <i>darabāy</i> , wife of a <i>Dar</i> .
कौल् <i>kaul</i> , name of a Brāhmaṇ caste	कौल्बाय् <i>kaulabāy</i> , wife of a <i>Kaul</i> .
सन् <i>sōnṛ</i> , a goldsmith	सन्बाय् <i>sōnṛbāy</i> , the wife of a goldsmith.
खार् <i>khār</i> , a blacksmith	खार्बाय् <i>khārabāy</i> , a blacksmith's wife.

We can only use this for human beings. Thus, कोत्तरबाय् *kōtarbāy* means the wife of a man of the *kōtar* caste, and not the wife of a pigeon (कोत्तर *kōtur*), the feminine of which is कोत्तर *kōtṛ*.

Cf. No. 9.

2. When respect is not intended कालय् *kōlay* is substituted for बाय् *bāy* in the meaning of wife (vi. 3). Thus :—

बट्कालय् *baṭakōlay*;

So from

चान् *chān*, a carpenter चान्कालय् *chānakōlay*, the wife of a carpenter.

Cf. No. 9.

(3) All words ending in *u-mātrā*, change it to *ī-mātrā* in the feminine (vi. 4), thus :—

पट् <i>paṭṭ</i> , a board	पट् <i>paṭṭ</i> , a tablet.
म्वट् <i>moṭṭ</i> , fat	म्वट् <i>mwṭṭ</i> .
गर् <i>garṭ</i> , hard	गर् <i>garṭ</i> .
गुर् <i>gurṭ</i> , a horse	गुर् <i>gurṭ</i> a mare.
दब् <i>dobṭ</i> , a washerman	दब् <i>dwṭṭ</i> , a woman who does washing. [Thus जान् दब् <i>Jānṭ dwṭṭ</i> , <i>Jāna</i> the washerwoman. A washerman's wife would be दब्बाय् <i>dwṭṭbāy</i> .]

खर् *khār^u*, having a scald head

गूर् *gūr^u*, a cowherd

खर् *khār^u*, the disease of scald-head.

गूर् *gūr^u*, as in जून गूर् *Zūn^a gūr^u*,
Zūna the cowherdess. A cow-
herd's wife is गूरिबाय् *gūrībāy*.

Note also words like—

कतर् *katār^u*, a large potsherd

मंगर् *mōṅgār^u*, a male kid

ततर् *tatār^u*, smarting of a wound

बोवर् *wōwār^u*, a weaver

कतर् *katār^u*, a small ditto.

मंगर् *mōṅgār^u* a female kid.

ततर् *tatār^u* the pain of anger.

बोवर् *wōwār^u*, a woman weaver.

[A weaver's wife is बोवर्बिबाय्
wōwārībāy.]

गगर् *gagar^u*, a rat

गगर् *gagar^u*.

As in the five last examples, all words of three or more syllables omit a penultimate *u*, when forming the feminine (vi. 8). Cf. No. 4a.

The word छट् *tshot^u*, small, makes its feminine छट् *tshwat^u*, or छटिन् *tshwatīñ* (Cf. No. 8.) The latter is only used with reference to human beings. The former is universally used (vi. 5), thus:—छट् (or छटिन्) *tshwat^u* (or *tshwatīñ*) कूर् *kūr^u*, a small girl.

So also we have खर् *khār*, an ass, feminine खर् *khār^u* or खरिन् *khariñ* (see No. 8).

(4). Words ending in ल् *l^u*, are subject to the following rules (vi. 7, 8, 29).

(a) Words of three syllables and over, ending in *ul^u* change *ul^u* to *ej^u*, thus:—

Feminine.

गाटल् *gātul^u*, clever

फुटल् *phuṭul^u*, a bundle of things
tied up in a shawl, &c.

चकुल् *tsakul^u*, circular

पतुल् *patul^u*, a raft

गगुल् *gōgul^u*, a big turnip

सतुल् *tsōtul^u*, a sodomite

गाटज् *gātēj^u*.

फुटज् *phuṭēj^u* a small bundle.

चकज् *tsakēj^u*.

पतज् *patēj^u*, a mat.

गगज् *gōgēj^u*, an ordinary turnip.

सतज् *tsōtēj^u*.

वातुलु *wātul^u*, a low-caste man वातजू *wātj^u*
 टटुलु *ṭaṭhul^u*, a wooden vessel टटजू *ṭaṭh^uj^u*, a small ditto.

(b) Words ending in the suffix वोलु *wōl^u*, form the feminine in वाच्यन् *wājēñ*, thus:—

गरवोलु *gar^awōl^u*, a house-holder गर्वाच्यन् *gar^awājēñ*.

The word वोलु *wōl^u*, 'a ring' is not formed with this suffix.

(c) Other words in *l^u* form their feminines in जू *j^u*, thus:—

गूलु *gūl^u*, a kernel गूजू *gūj^u*, a small ditto.

Words in खोलु *ōl^u* change ओ *ō* to आ *ā*, thus:—

बोलु *wōl^u*, a small ring बाज *wāj^u*, a small ditto.

मोलु *mōl^u*, a father माज *māj^u*, a mother.

त्रोलु *ṭrōl^u*, watchman त्राज *ṭrāj^u*.

Irregular is—

दुलु *ḍul^u*, a large bowl दुलिजि *ḍulijⁱ*, a small ditto.

(5) Words ending in कु *k^u*, खु *kh^u*, गु *g^u* (and also in क् *k*, ख् *kh*, ग् *g*; but no examples are given) change क् *k* to च् *c*, ख् *kh* to च् *ch*, and ग् *g* to ज् *j* (vi. 9), thus:—

Feminine.

बतुकु *batuk^u*, a drake बतूच् *bat^uc^u*, a duck.
 कंकु *hokh^u*, dry कंकूच् *hwach^u*.
 थूंगु *dyūg^u*, a ball of string डीजू *ḍīj^u*, a small ditto.

The vowel changes are those prescribed in the declension of nouns.

Īçvara-kaula occasionally spells बतूच् *bat^uc^u* बतूच् *bat^uc*.

Exceptions are (vi. 10.)

खूखू *khūkh^u*, one who speaks through his nose.
 खूखू *khūkh^u*.

चक *tsok^u*, sour चकू *tswak^u*.

(6) Words in त *t*, थ *th*, द *d*, or न *n*, with or without *u-mātrā*, change त *t* to च *ṭṣ*, थ *th* to ढ *ṭṣh*, द *d* to ज्ञ *z*, and न *n* to ञ *ñ*. As usual, *ū-mātrā* is omitted, in writing, after ञ *ñ*, (vi. 11.)

मत् *mat^u*, mad

मत् *mat^u*.

कोथ *koth^u*, a load

कोथ *kwat^{sh}*, a bag.

व्वरुद *wörud^u*, a second husband
of one woman.

व्वरुज *wör+z^u*, a woman who has
married twice.

वन् *wan*, a forest

वन् *wañ*, a grove.

गान् *gān*, a brothel-keeper

गान् *gāñ*, a prostitute.

चान् *chān*, a carpenter

चान् *chāñ*, as in जून चान् *Zūna*
chāñ, Zūna the carpentress.

हुन् *hūn^u*, a dog

हुन् *hūñ*, a bitch.

(7) Certain words form their feminines by adding र *r* with various other changes, thus:—

Feminine.

काग् *kagg*, a brazier

काग् *kāg^r*, a small ditto (vi. 12.)

चास् *ṭās*, a cough

चास् *ṭāk^h*, an artificial cough,
(vi. 13.)

वक् *trākh*, a certain grain weight

वक् *trak^r*, a scale, (vi. 14.)

म्वड् *mond^u*, a log

म्वड् *mōnd^r*, a small log (vi. 15.)

फ़त् *phot^u*, a basket

फ़त् *phōt^r*, a small basket (vi. 16.)

लट् *laṭ^u*, a tail

लट् *laṭ^r*, a small tail, कूटि लट्
kūṭi laṭ^r, a piece of wood cut
off the end of a beam.

वत् *waṭ^h*, a male calf

वत् *waṭ^h*, a female calf.

(8) Certain words form their feminines in ञ् *iñ* (vi. 16–27), thus:—

Feminine.

हस् *hast^u*, an elephant

हस् *hast^{iñ}*.

काव् *kāv*, a crow

कावस् *kāviñ*.

नाग् *nāg*, a snake.

नागस् *nāgiñ*.

बूट् *wūth*, a camelबूटिञ् *wūthiñ*.खर् *khar*, an assखरिञ् *khariñ*, (see No. 3) or खर् *khār*.

And so other words signifying animals.

व्यूठ् *vyūth*, stoutव्यूठिञ् *vyūthiñ*, stout, but वरिञ् *vēthiñ* (in a bad sense) stout, fat.गूठ् *gūth*, stupidगूठिञ् *gūthiñ*.बूट् *bōt*, a Tibetanबूटिञ् *bōtiñ*, (बूटिञ् *butiñ*), or बूटबाय् *bōtabāy*, a Tibetan woman.बुगिय् *bugiy*, a masterबुगिञ् *bugiñ*, a mistress.ज़ल् *zal*, waterज़लिञ् *zaliñ*, sweat of the feet.गर *gar*, a houseगरिञ् *gariñ*, a good mistress of a house; distinct from गर्वाञ्चिञ् *garwāñchiñ*, a female householder (see No. 9.)दब् *dob*, a washermanदबिञ् *dwabiñ*, a washerman's club, but दबिबाय् *dwabibāy*, a washerman's wife.(9) Certain nouns take अञ् *añ* in the feminine (vi. 28.)

(a) Names of castes.

Note that बाय् *bāy* (No. 1) is used as a feminine of respect; कल्य *kōkay* (No. 2) is only used of a married woman, when spoken of in connexion with her husband, and without respect; while अञ् *añ* is a general feminine, without signifying respect, thus:—

बट् *bat*, a Brāhman,बटञ् *batañ*, a woman of that caste.मुसलमान् *musalmān*, a Musalmānमुसलमानञ् *musalmānañ*, a Muhammadan woman.हाकग्राक् *hākagrākḥ*, a vegetable seller.हाकग्राकञ् *hākagrākāñ*.बोज् *wōñ*, a shopkeeperबाञ्चिञ् *wāñyañ*, a female shopkeeper.

So also all nouns with the suffix वोल् *wōl*, (vi. 29) as given in No.

4 (b). Thus :—

गर्वाल् *gar^awōl*, a householder गर्वाञ्ज् *gar^awājēñ*.

See also No. 8.

(10) If the masculine word ends in र् then the suffix is यञ् *ñ* (vi. 30), thus (see Secondary Suffixes No. 39.)

Feminine.

सालर् *sāl^ar*, a member of bridegroom's सार्यञ् *sāl^arēñ*.
party.

पहर् *pōhar*, an invited guest पहर्यञ् *pōharēñ*.

रंगर् *rang^ar*, a dyer रंग्यञ् *rang^arēñ*.

सनर् *sōn^ar*, a goldsmith सन्यञ् *sōn^arēñ*.

दांदुर् *dā^ad^ar*, a vegetable seller दांद्यञ् *dā^ad^arēñ*.

कांदुर् *kā^ad^ar*, a baker कांद्यञ् *kā^ad^arēñ*.

So also we have—

सञ् *soñ^a*, a co-father-in-law सञ्ज् *soñēñ*.

महाराज् *mahārāz^a*, a great king महार्यञ् *mahārēñ*, the wife of a
great king, a bride.

राज् *rāz^a*, a king राज्य्यञ् *rāj^ayarēñ*, a queen.

(11) Finally we have ञ् *ñ* in the following (vi. 31):—

पंडित् *pandith*, a paṇḍit पंडित्यञ् *pandī^ttāñ*.

गुजुर् *gujur^a*, a forester गुजराञ् *gujarāñ*.

(12) Irregular is (vi. 18)—

मख् *māk^h*, an axe मक्छ् *mak^aṣṣ*, a small axe.

B. Number.

Kāçmīrī, has two numbers, a Singular and a Plural. There is no Dual number. The method of forming the plural will appear from the Declensional Paradigms.

C. Case.

Kāçmīrī nouns have, besides the Nominative, two inflected cases the Accusative, and the Agent. Other so-called cases are formed by the addition of postpositions to one of these two. The following are the cases given by Īçvara-kaula.

Formed from the Accusative :—

Genitive,
Locative 1,
Dative 1,
Concomitant.

Formed from the Agent :—

Instrumental,
Locative 2,
Dative 2,
Ablative.

There is no Vocative, but, in case of address, a noun assumes a variety of forms which will be dealt with later on.

There are thus, excluding the Nominative, ten cases.

I now proceed to deal with each case separately.

Accusative.

The Accusative has two forms, a longer and a shorter. The shorter is always the same as the nominative (ii. i. 39.)

In the masculine singular, the longer form always ends in *s*. In the feminine it ends in *a*, *ē*, *i*, or *ū-mātrā* (36–40). When the longer form of the accusative singular ends in *i*, that *i* is always fully pronounced. Thus मालि *mālī*, not मालि *mālī*. In the plural it always ends in *n* (12, 38).

Genitive.

The Genitive is formed by various affixes, added to the long form of the accusative.

In the case of masculine nouns, the *s* of the accusative singular is dropped before the termination, and the final vowel so left is pronounced short, as a *mātrā* vowel. Thus from दय *day*, God: acc. sg. दयस् *dayas*; gen. sing. दय सन्द *day^a sand^a*: acc. pl. दयन् *dayan*; gen. plur. दयन् सन्द *dayan hand^a*.

So from गुर *gur^a*, a horse: acc. sg. गुरिस् *guris*; gen. sg., गुरि सन्द *gurⁱ sand^a*: acc. pl. गुर्यन् *guryan*; gen. pl. गुर्यन् सन्द *guryan hand^a*.

The word with its genitive affix is treated as an adjective agreeing with the object possessed in gender and number.

Thus मालि सन्द न्यचिद् *mālī sand^a nēciv^a*, the son of the father.

मालि सन्दि न्यचिवि *mālī sandⁱ nēcivⁱ*, the sons of the father.

मालि सन्ज कूर *mālī sanz^u kūr^u*, the daughter of the father.

मालि सन्ज कोर *mālī sanz^a kōr^ə*, the daughters of the father.

Moreover this genitive may even be treated as an independent base, and be regularly declined, with case affixes added to it.

Thus from मोल *mōl^a*, a father, the genitive masculine is मालि सन् *mālī sand^u*, which may be declined like a masculine noun in *u-mātrā*, with a dative मालि सन्दि पुष् *mālī sandi putshy*, which can be used instead of the simple dative मालि पुष् *mālī putshy*. Indeed the dative formed from the genitive is in the case of this word the usual one, and the simple dative is scarcely used (ii. i. 61, 62, 63, 64).

The following are the affixes used to form the genitive :—

A. Masculine nouns with life which are not proper names take

(a) in the singular, सन् *sand^u*, *E.g.*, दय सन् *day^a sand^u*, of God (46).

(b) in the plural, हन् *hand^u*, *E.g.*, दयन् हन् *dayan hand^u*, of Gods (42).

B. All feminine nouns without exception take हन् *hand^u*, both in the singular, and in the plural. *E.g.*, बहन हन् *bēñh hand^u*, of the sister; बहन् हन् *bēñan hand^u*, of the sisters; पोथ्य हन् *pōthē hand^u*, of the book; पोथ्यन् हन् *pōthyan hand^u*, of the books (42).

C. Masculine nouns without life take.

(a) In the singular उक् *uk^u*, (48) before which *a* is elided (i. 4), and *i* becomes *y* (i. 10). While when it follows *ū-mātrā*, the *u* of *uk^u* is elided (i. 5). *E.g.*, अकुक् *dyakuk^u*, of a forehead; कुलुक *kulyuk^u*, of a tree; दानुक *dān^uuk^u*, of a pomegranate.

(b) In the plural, the termination is हन् *hand^u*, as above; *e.g.*, अकन् हन् *dyakan hand^u*, of foreheads.

EXCEPTION.—The words सन् *sñ*, gold, and रप *rōp*, silver, take the termination सन् *sand^u* in the singular, when the genitive is used in the sense of 'composed of.' *E.g.*, सन् सन् *sñ^a sand^u* *chath^ar*, an umbrella of gold, a golden umbrella. सन्नुक् *sñ^uuk^u* *chath^ar*, would mean an umbrella belonging to gold,—a possessive genitive in fact (ii. i. 47).

NOTE.—When a genitive in उक् *uk^u* is treated as a declensional base, the उ *u* becomes अ *a* in the oblique cases (64). Thus पट् *paṭ^u*, a woollen cloth. Gen. sg. पट्युक् *paṭyuk^u*: Dative, पटि पुष् *paṭi puṭshy* or पट्यकि पुष् *paṭeki* (spelled *paṭyaki*) *puṭshy*.

D. Masculine nouns which are proper names form their genitive singular in उन् *un^u*, which is treated exactly like उक् *uk^u*, (50). E.g., राधाकृष्णन् *Rādhākṛṣṇan^u* of Rādhākṛṣṇa: राधाकृष्णि पुष् *Rādhākṛṣṇani puṭshy*, for Rādhākṛṣṇa.

The plural is formed regularly with हन्द् *haṇḍ^u*, e.g. रामन् हन्द् *Rāman haṇḍ^u*, of (many) Rāmas.

It will thus be seen that the suffix of the genitive of all plural nouns, and of all feminine nouns is हन्द् *haṇḍ^u*.

When the thing possessed is feminine singular, or masculine or feminine plural, the following changes in the genitive affixes occur:—

THING POSSESSED IN THE

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Masculine.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Feminine.
सन्द् <i>saṇḍ^u</i>	सन्ज् <i>saṇz^u</i> (46, 44)	सन्दि <i>saṇḍi</i> (46, 43)	सन्ज् <i>saṇz^a</i> (46, 45)
हन्द् <i>haṇḍ^u</i>	हन्ज् <i>haṇz^u</i> (44)	हन्दि <i>haṇḍi</i> (43)	हन्ज् <i>haṇz^a</i> (45)
उक् <i>uk^u</i>	क् <i>c^u</i> (49)	कि <i>kⁱ</i> (48)	क् <i>c^a</i> (49)
उन् <i>un^u</i>	ञ् <i>ñ</i> (51)	नि <i>nⁱ</i> (50)	ञ् <i>ñⁱ</i> (51)

Examples in order as:—

मालि सन्द् न्यचिव् *mālⁱ saṇḍ^u nēc^{yuv}*, the son of the father.

मालि सन्ज् कूर् *mālⁱ saṇz^u kūr^u*, the daughter of the father.

1 So written by Içvara-kaula. अ *cē* would be more correct, but, च *c* being a palatal letter, there is practically no difference in the pronunciation.

- मालि सन्दि न्यचिवि *mālī sandī nēcivī*, the sons of the father.
 मालि सन्ज कोर्य *mālī sanz^a kōrē*, the daughters of the father.
 माल्यन् हन्दु गुर् *mālyan haṇḍ^u gur^u*, the horse of the fathers.
 माल्यन् हन्ज गुर् *mālyan hañz^u gur^u*, the mare of the fathers.
 माल्यन् हन्दि गुरि *mālyan haṇḍī gurī*, the horses of the fathers.
 माल्यन् हज्ज गुर्य *mālyan hanz^a gurē*, the mares of the fathers.
 कुल्युक लंग *kulyuk^u langg*, a bough of a tree.
 कुलिच् लण्ड *kulic^u laṇḍ^u*, a twig of a tree.
 कुलिकि लंग *kulikī langg*, the boughs of the tree.
 कुलिच् लञ्ज *kulic^a lañjē*, the twigs of the tree.
 रामुन् न्यचिव *Rāmun^u nēchyuv*, Rāma's son.
 रामञ् कूर *Rāmañ kūr^u*, Rāma's daughter.
 रामनि न्यचिवि *Rāmañī nēcivī*, Rāma's sons.
 रामञ् कोर्य *Rāmañē kōrē*, Rāma's daughters.

Locative, 1.

There are two forms of the Locative. The first I shall call Loc. 1. It has the meaning indicated by its postpositions.

This Locative is formed by adding the postpositions अन्दर् *andar* (ii. i. 52), in; मन् *manz* (52), in; पट् *pyāth* (52), upon; क्यथ *kyāth* (53), in; to the longer form of the Accusative. In Poetry, वेष् *vēṣ^a* is also used in the sense of 'upon' (52). Thus मूल *mūl*, a root; Acc. sg. मूलस् *mūlas*; Loc. sg. मूलस् अन्दर् *mūlas andar*; मूलस् मन् *mūlas manz*, in a root; मूलस् पट् *mūlas pyāth*, on a root; Acc. pl. मूलन् *mūlan*; मूलन् अन्दर् *mūlan andar*, in roots.

The postposition क्यथ *kyāth* can only be used with words which mean a receptacle. Thus we can say थालस् क्यथ *thālas kyāth*, in a dish; or even नावि क्यथ *nāvi kyāth*, in a boat; but we cannot say गरस् क्यथ *garas kyāth*, in a house or मूलस् क्यथ *mūlas kyāth*, in a root, because a house, or a root, are not used as receptacles for putting things into.

क्वथ् *kyāth* can also be used with any word signifying a means of conveyance, and it must then sometimes be translated by 'on.' Thus गुरिस् क्वथ् *guris kyāth*, or गुरिस् प्यथ् *guris pyāth*, on horseback.

Loc. 2 will be dealt with subsequently.

Dative, 1.

There are two forms of the Dative, one formed by adding postpositions to the Accusative, the other by adding postpositions to the Instrumental. The first I shall call Dat. 1, the second, Dat. 2. The Dat. 2, will be subsequently dealt with.

Dat. 1 is formed by adding the postposition कित् *kyut*^u, for, to the longer form of the Accusative (ii. i. 54, 55). The compound thus formed, agrees in number and gender with the thing given, the word 'given' being taken in its widest sense to agree with the original meaning of the name of the case. The following are the forms which कित् *kyut*^u takes:—

Sing. Masc. कित् *kit*^u (*kyut*^u)

Fem. किच् *kits*^u

Pl. Masc. किति *kiti*ⁱ

Fem. किच् *kits*^o

Thus मालिस् कित् अनन् पोञ्ज् *mālis kyut^u anan pōñ^u*, he brought water (masc. sg.) for the father.

मालिस् किच् अञ्जन् गाव् *mālis kits^u aññan gāv*, he brought a cow (fem. sg.) for the father.

गुरिस् किति अनिन् रव् *guris kitⁱ anin rav^o*, he brought blankets (masc. pl.) for the horse.

ग्वरस् किच् अञ्जान् पोथ् *gōras kits^o aññan pōth^o*, he brought books (fem. pl.) for the teacher.

Concomitant.

This case is used in the sense of 'with,' or 'accompanying.' It is formed by adding the postpositions खतिन् *satin* or खत्य् *saty* to the longer form of the Accusative (ii. i. 60). Thus मालिस् खतिन् आव्

mālis sātīn āv, he came with his father; बायिस् सत्य् मूल् *bāyis suty myūl*, he met with his brother; मात्यन् सतिन् *mālyan sātīn*, with the fathers.

In this case it is always implied that the person who is accompanied is the principal and he who accompanies, is the appendage (iv. 185).

Thus 'he came with his father' means here that he came in a subordinate character (iv. 185).

If it is wished to reverse the superiority of the parties we must use the word सान् *sān*. Thus मालिस् सान् बाव् *mālis sān āv*, he came with his father, means 'he brought his father along with him.' If सतिन् *sātīn* had been used, it would have meant that the father brought the son along with him (iv. 185).

Agent.

The case of the Agent is formed in the Singular as follows:—

- (1) In the case of Masc. nouns ending in consonants by adding अन् *an*; thus दय् *day*, God; Ag. sg. दयन् *dayan*. In the older forms of the language the suffix was इ: e.g., दयि दप् *dayi dāp*, by God it was said, God said. The modern phrase would be दयन् दप् *dayan dāp* (ii. i. 58).
- (2) In the case of Masculine nouns (except pronouns) ending in *a*, the same suffixes appear. Thus from यक *dyak*, a forehead; Ag. sg. यकन् *dyakan*, or (old) यकि *dēk* (58). Pronouns take *i-mātrā* in the masc. sg., e.g., तमि *tami*, by him, (58).
- (3) In the case of Masculine nouns ending in *u-mātrā*, *i-mātrā* is substituted for *u-mātrā*. Thus, कर् *kar*, a bracelet; Ag. sg. कर् *kar* (56).
- (4) In the case of Masculine nouns ending in *ū-mātrā*, by adding न् *n*; e.g., from दान् *dān*, a pomegranate; Ag. sg. दान् *dān*. [Iṣvara-kaula gives no rule for forming the agent of these nouns, but the above is the correct form.]
- (5) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in *a*, by substituting *i* (which is fully pronounced, and not *i-mātrā*) for *a*: e.g.,

from ब्यञ्ज *bēñṣ* (spelled *byañṣ*), a sister; Ag. sg. ब्यञ्जि *bēñṣi* (56).

- (6) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in *i-mātrā* or *ū-mātrā*, a fully pronounced *i* is substituted for the *i-mātrā* or *ū-mātrā*: e.g., from पूथि *pūthi*, a book; Ag. sg. पोथि *pōthi*.

So from कूर *kūr*, a girl; Ag. sg. कोरि *kōri* (56).

- (7) In the case of Feminine nouns ending in consonants, by adding a fully pronounced *i*: e.g., from माल *māl* a garland, मालि *māli* (56). The irregular nouns, however, which end in *t*, *th*, *d*, *n*, *h*, and *l*, add *ū-mātrā*: e.g., from रात् *rāt*, night; Ag. sg. रात् *rāts*. [This last rule is not expressly stated by Īṣvara-kaula, but may be inferred from *sūtra* 7, read with *sūtra* 17.]

The Agent plural is formed by adding *au* (56). Before this, *a* is elided, and *i-mātrā* and *u-mātrā* become *y*. After *ū-mātrā* (except in the case of Feminine nouns in *ū-mātrā*, in which *y* is substituted) *au* becomes *v* (20). Examples are:—

From	Ag. Plural.
दय् <i>day</i> , God	दयो <i>dayau</i>
द्यक् <i>dyak</i> , the forehead	द्यको <i>dyakau</i>
कर <i>kar</i> , a bracelet	कयो <i>karyau</i>
दान् <i>dān</i> , a pomegranate	दान्व <i>dānv</i>
ब्यञ्ज <i>bēñṣ</i> (<i>byañṣ</i>), a sister	ब्यञ्जो <i>bēñṣau</i>
पूथि <i>pūthi</i> , a book	पोथ्यो <i>pōthyau</i>
कूर <i>kūr</i> , a girl	कोर्यो <i>kōryau</i>
माल <i>māl</i> , a garland	मालौ <i>mālau</i>
रात् <i>rāt</i> , night	रात् <i>rātsv</i>

When postpositions are added to the agent of masculine nouns ending in consonants or *a*, the *n* of the Agent singular is dropped. Thus, from मूल *mūl*, Ag. sg. मूलन् *mūlan*; Instr. मूल स्तनिन् *mūl^s sṭnin*, not मूलन् स्तनिन् *mūlan sṭnin* (4). [The same rule applies to masculines in *ū-mātrā*, though not stated by Īṣvara-kaula.]

Instrumental.

The Instrumental is formed by adding स्तित् *sṭin* or स्तित् *sṭy* to the Agent, the final *n* of Masculine nouns in consonants, *a*, or *ū-mātrā* being elided, (ii. i. 4, 59.). Thus—

मूल *mūl*, a root; Ag. sg. मूलन् *mūlan*; Instr. sg. मूल स्तित् *mūl^a sṭin*, by means of a root; Ag. pl. मूलौ *mūlau*; Instr. pl. मूलौ स्तित् *mūlau sṭin*.

When स्तित् *sṭin* follows *i-mātrā*, the *i* is fully pronounced (6). Thus कर् *kar^a*, a bracelet; Ag. sg. कर् *karⁱ*; Instr. sg. कर् स्तित् *kari sṭin*.

This case can also be formed by adding the same postposition to the agent case of the masculine genitive treated as an independent base, as explained above (61). Thus शक *dyak^a*, a forehead; masc. gen. sg. शकु *dyakuk^a*; Agent of ditto, शक् *dyakakⁱ*; Instr. शक स्तित् *dyak^a sṭin* or शक् स्तित् *dyakaki sṭin*.

So from गुर *gur^a*, a horse. Ag. sg. गुरि *guri*; Gen. Sg. गुरि सन् *guriⁱ sand^a*; Instr. गुरि स्तित् *guri sṭin*, or गुरि सन् स्तित् *guriⁱ sandi sṭin*.

Locative 2.

The Locative 2 has the meaning of 'from in,' and is formed by adding the postposition अन् *and^a* to the Agent, (*n* being dropped in the case of masculines in consonants, and *a*, and *ū-mātrā*.) Thus, from गर *gar^a*, a house; Ag. sg. गरन् *garan*; Loc. 2, sg. गर अन् *gar^a and^a*, from in the house; ag. pl. गरौ *garau*; Loc. 2, pl. गरौ अन् *garau and^a*, (ii. i. 57).

Examples of the use of this case are गर अन् अन् *gar^a and^a an* bring out from the house, lit. bring from in the house.

गर अन् कुह जान् लौक *gar^a andar^a chuh jān lōk^a*, among the people in (lit. from in) the house, (only) so and so is good.

गरौ अन् कुह जान् आगुन् *garau andar^a chuh jān āgun*, the only good thing in the houses is the court-yard.

This form can only be used in the meaning called in Skr. *nirdhāraṇē*, i.e., in words meaning जाति *jāti*, a species (including all plurals); गुण *guṇa*, a quality; क्रिया *kriyā*, an act; संज्ञा *saṃjñā*, an appellation; and means that one of several is taken.

जात्या गुणेन क्रियया संज्ञया वा वृथक्कृतिः ।

सञ्ज्ञादेकदेशस्य निर्धारणमिति सूत्रम् ॥

Examples :—

Species. A Brāhmaṇa is the best amongst men.

Quality. Amongst cows a black one gives most milk.

Action. Amongst men who go, he who runs is the swiftest.

Appellation. Amongst the pupils Maitra is the cleverest. See Siddhānta Kaumudī (Bibl. Ind. Ed.) I, 311. In all the above "amongst" means "from among."

It is evident that the form can hardly ever be used except in the plural. In the paradigms, singular forms are given for the sake of completeness, but it is doubtful if they can be used in that number.

Dative 2.

According to Īṣvara-kaula, this form is only used to a moderate extent (*sāmānya*) (ii. i. 63). It is in fact rarely used. It has the same meaning as the Dat. 1. It is formed by adding पुष् *putshy* to the Agent, or (as has been explained under the head of the Instrumental) to the Agent case of the Genitive. Before पुष् *putshy*, as in the case of सूतिन् *sūtin*, *i-mātrā* is fully pronounced. Thus,—एन पुष् *putr^a putshy*, or एन सन्दि पुष् *putr^a sandi putshy*.

Ablative.

The Ablative is formed from the Agent by adding the postpositions एठ *pyath^a*, literally from on, hence, from near; निश् *niṣ^a*, from near; सन्द् *andr^a*, from among, from in (ii. i. 65).

Thus, गाम एठ *gām^a pyath^a*, from the village; गामो एठ *gāmau pyath^a* from the villages; सर्पो निश् *sarpau niṣ^a*, from the serpents; गर सन्द् द्राव् *gar^a andr^a drāv*, he came out from the house; नावि सन्द् द्राव् *nāvi andr^a drāv*, he came out from the boat, (65).

[Masculine living beings can also add these postpositions, in the singular only, to the longer form of the Accusative. Thus चूरस् निश् *tsūras niṣṭa*, from the thief; गुरिस् निश् *guris niṣṭa*, from the horse.]

The ablative of comparison is formed with the postpositions खत *khōt* or खतन् *khōtan*, निश् *niṣṭa* or निश्चिन् *niṣchin*, which are added either to the agent direct, or to the Agent case of the Genitive treated as a base. In the case of some words, e.g., ग्वर् *gōr*, a teacher, only the latter idiom is used.

E.g., ग्वर् सन्दि खत कुह् गाटुल् *gōr sandi khōt chuh gāṭul*, he is more clever than the teacher. We cannot say ग्वर् खत *gōr khōt*. कञ् हन्दि (or कञ्) खत कुह् चक्रुल् *kañ handi (or kañ) khōt chuh trakur*, he is harder than a stone; वैप निश् कुह् खन् जान् *vōp niṣṭa chuh sōn jān*, gold is better than silver (ii. i. 62).

D. Declension.

Kāçmīrī nouns have four declensions.

The first declension consists of masculine nouns ending in a consonant, in अ *a*, or in ऊ *ū-mātrā*. The base in this declension ends in *a*.

The second declension consists of masculine nouns ending in उ *u-mātrā*. The base in this declension ends in *i*.

The third declension consists of feminine nouns ending in इ *i-mātrā*, ऊ *ū-mātrā*, or औ *ō*. The last is only another way of writing औ *ō*. It may be considered as the feminine form of the 2nd declension. The base in this declension also ends in *i*, and this declension is closely connected with the second, as feminine and masculine.

The fourth declension consists of feminine nouns ending in a consonant or in ए *a*. Certain feminine nouns of this declension ending in a consonant, are irregular, and form a class by themselves.

There are thus two masculine, and two feminine declensions.

FIRST DECLENSION.

Masculine nouns ending in a consonant, in च् अ, or in ङ् *ū-mātrā*.

(a). Noun ending in a consonant.

चूर् *tsūr*, a thief.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	चूर् <i>tsūr</i> (ii. i. 3).	चूर् <i>tsūr</i> (3).
Acc.	चूर्स् <i>tsūras</i> (36, 38).	चूर्न् <i>tsūran</i> (13, 38).
	चूर् <i>tsūr</i> (39).	चूर् <i>tsūr</i> (39).
Gen.	चूर् सन्द् <i>tsūr^a sand^a</i> (41, 42, 45).	चूर्न् हन्द् <i>tsūran hand^a</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	चूर्स् यद् <i>tsūras pyāth</i> (52), &c.	चूर्न् यद् <i>tsūran pyāth</i> (52), &c.
Dat. 1.	चूर्स् कित् <i>tsūras kyut^a</i> (54, 55).	चूर्न् कित् <i>tsūran kyut^a</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	चूर्स् स्तित् <i>tsūras sūtin</i> (60).	चूर्न् स्तित् <i>tsūran sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	चूर्न् <i>tsūran</i> (58).	चूर्ौ <i>tsūrau</i> (56).
	चूर्ि <i>tsūrⁱ</i> (58) (obsolete).	
Instr.	चूर् स्तित् <i>tsūr^a sūtin</i> (6, 59).	चूर्ौ स्तित् <i>tsūrau sūtin</i> (59).
	चूर् सन्दि स्तित् <i>tsūr^a sandi sūtin</i> (61).	चूर्न् हन्दि स्तित् <i>tsūran handi sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	(चूर् अन्द्र <i>tsūr^a andr^a</i>) (4, 57).	चूर्ौ अन्द्र <i>tsūrau andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	चूर् पृष् <i>tsūr^a putshy</i> (63).	चूर्ौ पृष् <i>tsūrau putshy</i> (63).
	चूर् सन्दि पृष् <i>tsūr^a sandi putshy</i> (63).	चूर्न् हन्दि पृष् <i>tsūran handi putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	चूर् निश् <i>tsūr^a niç^a</i> (65).	चूर्ौ निश् <i>tsūrau niç^a</i> (65).
	[or चूर्स् निश् <i>tsūras niç^a</i>].	

Similarly are declined द्य् *day*, God; कान् *kāu*, a crow; सन् *sōn*, gold; रैप् *rōp*, silver; पुन् *putr*, a son; वयर् *wathar*, a leaf; तमुल् *tōmul*, husked rice; हार् *hār*, name of a month, Āṣāḍha; मंग् *mōṅg*, name of a grain, *phaseolus mungi*; माग् *māg*, name of a month, Māgha; दह् *dōh*, a day; नाग् *nāg*, a spring; कट् *kaṭ* [nom. sg. and pl. कट् *kāṭh* (66)], a ram; रत् *rat* [nom. sg. and pl. रत् *rāṭh*, (66)], blood; पोष् *pōṣ*, a flower; वाल् *wāl*, hair; गल् *gal*, the cheek; ग्वर् *gōr*, a preceptor, a Brāhman.

Numerals take *i* instead of *a* in the Agent and connected cases, e.g., सति स्तितिन् *sati sṭitin*, by sevens (ii. i. 5).

If a noun ends in उर् *ur* [or उन् *un*], the *u* is changed to *a* in all cases except the nominative singular, e.g., वाँदुर् *wāḍur*, a monkey; nom. pl. वाँदुर् *wāḍar*; instr. वाँदुरौ स्तितिन् *wāḍarau sṭitin* (32). [So infinitives like करन् *karun*; acc. करनस् *karanas*].

If in the case of masculine nouns of the first declension the final consonant is preceded by the vowel *ū*, that *ū* becomes *ō*, in all cases of the plural except the nominative, but remains unchanged in the singular and in the nominative plural. The following masculine words ending in consonants do not, however, change this *ū* (35).

मूल् *mūl*, a root.

लूदुर् *lūdūr*, eagerly desirous.

चूल् *chūl*, a cascade.

लूबुर् *lūbūr*, eagerly desirous.

दूस् *dūs*, a stout club.

वूट् *wūṭ* (nom. sg. वूट् *wūṭh*, 66), a camel.

बूत् *būt* (nom. sg. बूत् *būth*, 66),
a ghost.

सूर् *sūr*, ashes.

रूद् *rūd*, rain.

हूस् *hūs*, an uproar.

[चूर् *chūr*, a thief], and others.

लूक् *lūk* (nom. sg. लूक् *lūkh*, 66), people.

Thus from मूल् *mūl*, acc. pl. मूलन् *mūlan*, not मोलन् *mōlan*.

If a masculine noun ends in क् *k*, च् *ch*, ष् *ts*, ट् *t*, त् *t*, or प् *p*, this final consonant is aspirated in the nom. sg. and pl. (66); thus:—

Nom. sg. and pl.

त्रक् *trak*, a certain grain measure.

त्रक् *trākh*.

काक् *kāts*, glass, a disease of the chest.

काक् *kāts̄h*.

कट् *kaṭ*, a ram.

कट् *kāṭh*.

रत् *rat*, blood.

रत् *rāth*.

हत् *hat*, a hundred.

हत् *hāth*.

ताप् *tāp*, sunshine.

ताप् *tāph*.

The aspiration is very faintly heard, being a final letter, but it affects the preceding vowel. The aspiration does not occur in the other cases; e.g., चक स्तुतिन् *trak^a sūtin* (instr.); काक् स्तुतिन् *kāts^a sūtin*; कट पुष् *kaṭ^a putshy* (dat. 2); तापस् यट् *tāpas pyāṭh* (loc.).

This aspiration does not occur if a final त् *t* or ष् *ts* forms part of a compound consonant (even when a short ^a is introduced between them to aid pronunciation) (68); thus:—

सृक् *s^ats*, a tailor (Elmslie, *sūts*); nom. sg. and pl. सृक् *s^ats*, not सृक् *s^ats̄h*.

मस् *mast*, hair; nom. sg. and pl. मस् *mast*, not मस् *māsth*.

The word व्याक् *byākh*, another (2, 3, 24), becomes बिय् *biy* in all cases except the nom. sg., and is partially declined like a noun ending in *u-mātrā* (2nd declension); thus—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	व्याक् <i>byākh</i>	बिय् <i>biy</i> .
Acc.	बियिस् <i>biyis</i> .	बियन् <i>biyan</i> .
Ag.	बियि <i>biyⁱ</i> .	बियौ <i>biyau</i> .

The Fem. Ag. is बियि *biyi*. In other forms it is the same as the Masc. This is really a compound word: made up of बि *bi*, other, and षक् *ākh*, one. The oblique forms are made up of the base बि *bi*, together with the emphatic particle य् *y*, which accounts for the apparent irregularities. बि *bi* is of the 2nd declension.

Noun ending in अ a.

अक *dyak^a* a forehead.

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

Nom.	अक <i>dyak^a</i> (ii. i. 1).	अक <i>dyak^a</i> (1).
Acc.	अकस् <i>dyakas</i> (38). अक <i>dyak^a</i> (39).	अकन् <i>dyakan</i> (38). अक <i>dyak^a</i> (39).
Gen.	अकुक् <i>dyakuk^a</i> (41, 48).	अकन् हन्द् <i>dyakan hand^a</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	अकस् पय् <i>dyakas pyāth</i> , &c., (52, 53).	अकन् पय् <i>dyakan pyāth</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	अकस् कित् <i>dyakas kyut^a</i> (54, 55).	अकन् कित् <i>dyakan kyut^a</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	अकस् स्तित् <i>dyakas sūtin</i> (60).	अकन् स्तित् <i>dyakan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	अकन् <i>dyakan</i> (i. 5a) or अकि <i>dekⁱ</i> (obsolete) (58; i. 4).	अकौ <i>dyakau</i> (56; i. 4).
Instr.	अक स्तित् <i>dyak^a sūtin</i> (6, 59). अककि स्तित् <i>dyakaki</i> <i>sūtin</i> (61).	अकौ स्तित् <i>dyakau sūtin</i> (59). अकन् हन्दि स्तित् <i>dyakan handi</i> <i>sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	अक अन्द्र <i>dyak^a andr^a</i> (4, 57).	अकौ अन्द्र <i>dyakau andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	अक पुष् <i>dyak^a putshy</i> (63). अककि पुष् <i>dyakaki</i> <i>putshy</i> (67).	अकौ पुष् <i>dyakau putshy</i> (63). अकन् हन्दि पुष् <i>dyakan handi</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	अक निश <i>dyak^a niṣ^a</i> (65).	अकौ निश <i>dyakau niṣ^a</i> (65).

Similarly are declined गर *gar^a*, a house; अय *āth^a*, a hand; दाज *dāñē*, rice; बत *bat^a*, boiled rice.

(c). Noun ending in *ङ्* *ū-mātrā*.*दान्* *dān^u*, a pomegranate.

Nom.	<i>दान्</i> <i>dān^u</i> (ii. i. 2).	<i>दान्</i> <i>dān^u</i> (2).
Acc.	<i>दान्स्</i> <i>dān^us</i> (38).	<i>दानन्</i> <i>dān^un</i> (31, 13, 33).
	<i>दान्</i> <i>dān^u</i> (39).	<i>दान्</i> <i>dān^u</i> (39).
Gen.	<i>दान्कु</i> <i>dān^uku</i> (41, 48).	<i>दानन्</i> <i>हन्द्</i> <i>dān^un hand^u</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	<i>दान्स्</i> <i>प्यट्</i> <i>dān^us pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).	<i>दानन्</i> <i>प्यट्</i> <i>dān^un pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	<i>दान्स्</i> <i>कित्</i> <i>dān^us kyut^u</i> (54, 55).	<i>दानन्</i> <i>कित्</i> <i>dān^un kyut^u</i> (54, 55)
Concom.	<i>दान्स्</i> <i>स्त्रित्</i> <i>dān^us sṭrin</i> (60).	<i>दानन्</i> <i>स्त्रित्</i> <i>dān^un sṭrin</i> (60).
Agent.	<i>दानन्</i> <i>dān^un</i> .	<i>दान्व्</i> <i>dān^uv</i> (20, 31, 56).
Instr.	<i>दान्</i> <i>स्त्रित्</i> <i>dān^u sṭrin</i> (59).	<i>दान्व्</i> <i>स्त्रित्</i> <i>dān^uv sṭrin</i> (59).
	<i>दान्कि</i> <i>स्त्रित्</i> <i>dān^uki</i> <i>sṭrin</i> (61).	<i>दानन्</i> <i>हन्दि</i> <i>स्त्रित्</i> <i>dān^un handi</i> <i>sṭrin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	<i>दान्</i> <i>अन्द्</i> <i>dān^u andr^a</i> (57).	<i>दान्व्</i> <i>अन्द्</i> <i>dān^uv andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	<i>दान्</i> <i>पुष्</i> <i>dān^u putshy</i> (63).	<i>दान्व्</i> <i>पुष्</i> <i>dān^uv putshy</i> (63).
	<i>दान्कि</i> <i>पुष्</i> <i>dān^uki</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).	<i>दानन्</i> <i>हन्दि</i> <i>पुष्</i> <i>dān^un handi</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	<i>दान्</i> <i>निश्</i> <i>dān^u niṣ^a</i> (65).	<i>दान्व्</i> <i>निश्</i> <i>dān^uv niṣ^a</i> (65).

Īçvara-kaula gives no rule for forming the agent singular of these nouns. but *दानन्* *dān^un* is the correct form.

The following words are optionally declined as if ending in consonants, *गङ्ग* *gaṅg^u*, a leather-worker; *गङ्ग* *gāṅg^u*, a grass-seller; *बाँच्* *bāṅc^u*,

people of a house ; $\text{हान्ज़} hānz^w$, a boatman. Thus, acc. plur. $\text{गञ्जन्} gānz^w_n$ or $\text{गञ्जन्} ganzan$ (15).

It must be remembered that \bar{u} - $mātrā$ at the end of a word is not pronounced. Before a consonant (as in $\text{दण्ड} dānz^w$) it is pronounced like a short German \bar{u} . It is, also, slightly pronounced in the Instr. Loc. 2, Dat. 2, and Abl. Sing. Before \bar{u} - $mātrā$, a preceding a or \bar{a} must be modified to a or \bar{a} respectively (70); e.g., as in $\text{दान्} dān^w$.

SECOND DECLENSION.

Masculine Nouns in $\text{उ} u$ - $mātrā$.

$\text{करु} kar^u$, a bracelet.

Nom.	$\text{करु} kar^u$ (ii. i. 8).	$\text{करि} kar^i$ (30).
Acc.	$\text{करिस्} karis$ (30, 38). $\text{करु} kar^u$ (39).	$\text{कर्यन्} karyan$ (12, 30, 38). $\text{करि} kar^i$ (39).
Gen.	$\text{कर्युकु} karyuk^u$ (41, 48).	$\text{कर्यन् हण्डु} karyan haṇḍ^u$ (42).
Loc. 1.	$\text{करिस् पथ} karis pyāṭh$, &c. (52, 53).	$\text{कर्यन् पथ} karyan pyāṭh$, &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	$\text{करिस् कितु} karis kyut^u$ (54, 55).	$\text{कर्यन् कितु} karyan kyut^u$ (54, 55).
Concom.	$\text{करिस् स्यतिन्} karis sṭin$ (60).	$\text{कर्यन् स्यतिन्} karyan sṭin$ (60).
Agent.	$\text{करि} kar^i$ (6, 56).	$\text{कर्यौ} karyau$ (56, 80; i. 10).
Instr.	$\text{करि स्यतिन्} kari sṭin$ (59). $\text{कर्यकि स्यतिन्} karēki sṭin$ (61).	$\text{कर्यौ स्यतिन्} karyau sṭin$ (59). $\text{कर्यन् हन्दि स्यतिन्} karyan haṇḍi$ $sṭin$ (61).
Loc. 2.	$\text{करि अन्द्र} kari andr^a$ (57).	$\text{कर्यौ अन्द्र} karyau andr^a$ (57).
Dat. 2.	$\text{करि पुच्छ} kari putshy$ (63). $\text{कर्यकि पुच्छ} karēki putshy$ (63).	$\text{कर्यौ पुच्छ} karyau putshy$ (63). $\text{कर्यन् हन्दि पुच्छ} karyan haṇḍi$ $putshy$ (63).
Abl.	$\text{करि निश} kari niṣ^a$ (65).	$\text{कर्यौ निश} karyau niṣ^a$.

[also $\text{गुरिस् निश} guris niṣ^a$ (in the case of masculine nouns with life).]

Similarly are declined गुर् *gur^u*, a horse; गूर् *gūr^u*, a cow-herd; गूल् *gūl^u*, a kernel, especially of the singārā; कुल् *kul^u*, a tree.

The final *u* becomes *i* (or *y*) throughout, except in the Nominative Singular, (30).

If the penultimate of a masculine noun contains the vowel *ū*, that *ū* becomes *ō* in all cases of the Plural except the nominative. It does not change in the singular, or in the nominative plural, (34).

Thus गूर् *gūr^u*, a cowherd; acc. sg. गूरिस् *gūris*; nom. pl. गूरि *gūrⁱ*, but acc. pl. गोर्यन् *gōryan*.

The following words in *u-mātrā* are exceptions, and do not change. the *ū* (35).

कस्तूर् *kastūr^u*, the nightingale.

कूट् *kūṭ^u*, a tree-trunk.

चूट् *chūṭ^u*, an apple.

टूर् *ṭūr^u*, a woman's eating platter.

दूर् *dūr^u*, a flower-bed.

नस्तूर् *nastūr^u*, having a deformed nose.

Thus from कस्तूर् *kastūr^u*, acc. pl. कस्तूर्यन् *kastūryan*.

If a masculine noun ends in *u-mātrā*, and has ओ *ō* in the penultimate, this *ō* becomes *ā* in all cases of the singular except the nominative, and throughout the plural. Moreover, this *ā* is modified to *ā̃* before *i-mātrā*, and in the accusative singular (69, 70). Thus, बोल् *wōl^u*, an earring; acc. sg. बालिस् *wālis*; gen. sg., बाल्युक् *wālyuk^u* (from मोल् *mōl^u*, a father, बालिस् *mālⁱ sand^u*); ag. sg. बालि *wāḷⁱ*; instr. sg. बालि स्तितिन् *wāli sṭitin* (here the *i* is not *i-mātrā*, but is fully pronounced); nom. pl. बालि *wāḷⁱ*; acc. pl. बाल्यन् *wālyan*; ag. pl. बाल्यौ *wālyau*. Similarly are declined मोल् *mōl^u*, a father, and बौय् *bōy^u*, a brother; also masculine possessive pronouns, such as म्योन् *myōn^u*, mine; च्योन् *cyōn^u* hine; सोन् *sōn^u*, our.

Thus nom. sg. म्योनृ *myōnṛ*; acc. sg. म्यानिस् *myānis*; gen. sg. म्यानि सन्दृ *myāni sandṛ*; ag. sg. म्यानि *myāni*; nom. pl. म्यानि *myāni*; acc. pl. म्यान्यन् *myānyan*; ag. pl. म्यान्यौ *myānyau*; Instr. sg. म्यानि स्तृतिन् *myāni sṭitin*, or म्यानि सन्दि स्तृतिन् *myāni sandi sṭitin*. So also the others (ii. iii. 11 and ff.)

Moreover, whenever, in this declension, the letter *a* or *ā* is followed by *i-mātrā*, or *u-mātrā*, the *a* or *ā* become *a* or *ā* respectively. (ii. i. 70); thus,—

Base पट् *pāt*, a woollen cloth; nom. sg. पट् *pāt*; ag. sg. पटि *paṭi*; nom. pl. पटि *paṭi*; but, acc. sg. पटिस् *paṭis* (not पटिस् *paṭis*, as in the case of वोल्ल *wōlḥ*); Instr. sg. पटि स्तृतिन् *paṭi sṭitin* (fully pronounced *i*); acc. pl. पट्यन् *paṭyan*; ag. pl. पट्यौ *paṭyau*. So also हट् *haṭ*, the neck; तन् *tan*, the body; सन्दृ *sandṛ*, suffix of genitive (acc. sg. सन्दिस् *sandis*; ag. sg. सन्दि *sandi*; instr. sg. सन्दि स्तृतिन् *sandi sṭitin*; nom. pl. सन्दि *sandi*; acc. pl. सन्द्यन् *sandyan*; ag. pl. सन्द्यौ *sandyan*): similarly पट्यक् *paṭyuk* of a woollen cloth; acc. sg. पट्यकिस् *paṭēkis*; ag. sg. पट्यकि *paṭyaki*; instr. sg. पट्यकि स्तृतिन् *paṭēki sṭitin*; nom. pl. पट्यकि *paṭyaki*; acc. pl. पट्यक्यन् *paṭēkyan*; ag. pl. पट्यक्यौ *paṭēkyau*.

Nouns in *u-mātrā*, of three or more syllables, if they have *u* in the penultimate, omit the *u* before *i-mātrā*, and change it to *a* in all other cases except the nominative singular (73, 75); thus:—

गाटल्ल *gāṭulḥ*, clever; acc. sg. गाटलिस् *gāṭalis*; ag. sg. गाटलि *gāṭli* (pronounced *gāṭliḥ*); instr. sg. गाटलि स्तृतिन् *gāṭali sṭitin*; gen. sg. गाटलि सन्दृ *gāṭli sandṛ*; nom. pl. गाटलि *gāṭli*; acc. pl. गाटल्यन् *gāṭalyan*; ag. pl. गाटल्यौ *gāṭalyau*.

This does not occur in the case of dissyllables; e.g., from कुल्ल *kulḥ*, a tree; acc. sg. कुलिस् *kulis*, and not कलिस् *kalis*.

The following words in *u-mātrā*, with *u* in the penultimate, change

the penultimate *u* to *a* in all cases except the nominative, and are then declined like nouns of the first declension ending in consonants (74.)

कटुल *kōṭshul^u*, a porter.

सुतुल *tsōṭul^u*, a sodomite.

चकुल *tsakul^u*, circular.

गवगुल *gōḡul^u*, globular.

वातुल *wātul^u*, a low-caste man.

बतुक *batul^u*, a drake.

गगुर *gagur^u*, a rat.

मङ्गुर *mōṅgur^u*, a kid.

ककुर *kōkur^u*, a cock (iv. 1).

कोतुर *kōtur^u*, a pigeon (iv. 1).

So also words in *र^u* signifying professions, &c. (iv. 6, 99 and ff.),

e.g., सनुर *sōnur^u*, a goldsmith, मनुर् *manur^u*, a shell worker.

See secondary suffixes No. 39.

Thus,—

Nom. sg. कटुल *kōṭshul^u*; acc. sg. कटलस् *kōṭshalas*; gen. sg. कटल
सन्दु *kōṭshal^a sand^u*; ag. sg. कटलन् *kōṭshalan*; instr. sg. कटल स्ततिन्
kōṭshal^a sātīn; nom. pl. कटल *kōṭshal*; acc. pl. कटलन् *kōṭshalan*; ag. pl.
कटलो *kōṭshalau*.

If a word ending in *u-mātrā* has *yu* or *i* in the penultimate of the nom. sg., it has *i* in the penultimate in all the other cases (ii. i. 76). [These words are spelt indifferently with *yu* or *i* in the nominative, but are always pronounced as if *yu* was written. Thus महनुव *mahanyuv^u*, or महनिव *mahaniv^u*, a man, both pronounced *mahanyuv*; झुठ *zyuṭh^u*, or ज़िठ *ziṭh^u*, old, but both pronounced *zyuṭh*. On the other hand, in other cases, except the nominative, we have only *i*, pronounced as *i*]: thus; झुठ *zyuṭh^u*, old; acc. sg. ज़िठिस् *ziṭhis*; ag. sg. ज़िटि *ziṭhⁱ*; nom. pl. ज़िटि *ziṭhⁱ*; acc. pl. ज़ियन् *ziṭhyan*; ag. pl. ज़ियो *ziṭhyau*.

Similarly, when the penultimate is *yū*, it becomes *ī* before *i-mātrā* or *is*, and *ē* in other cases, except the nom. sg. (77, 78); thus,—

Nom. sg. चून् *tsyūn^u*, a wall; acc. sg. चीनिस् *tsīnis*; gen. sg. चेनुक् *tsēnyuk^u*; ag. sg. चीनि *tsīnⁱ*; instr. sg. चेनि स्ततिन् *tsēni sṭin* (not *i-mātrā*); nom. pl. चीनि *tsīnⁱ*; acc. pl. चैन्यन् *tsēnyan*; ag. pl. चैन्यौ *tsēnyau*.

[The word न्यूल *nyūl^u*, blue, however, has *ī* throughout. Thus, gen. sg. नील्युक् *nīlyuk^u*; instr. sg. नीलि स्ततिन् *nīli sṭin*; acc. pl. नील्यन् *nīlyan*; ag. pl. नील्यौ *nīlyau*.

So also in व्यूत् *vyūt^u*, how much; त्यूत् *tyūt^u*, so much; यूत् *yūt^u*, this much; change the *yū* to *ī* throughout (ii. iii. 27). Thus, यीति *yītiⁱ*, how many (nom. pl.); नीति *nītiⁱ*; इति *itiⁱ*, pr. *yītiⁱ*.]

The *ū* in कूत् *kūt^u*, how many? (ii. iii. 25, 26) becomes *ī*, in all cases except the nominative singular. In the obl. cases of the plural, it may optionally become *ai*. Thus—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	कूत् <i>kūt^u</i> .	कूति <i>kūtiⁱ</i> .
Acc.	कूतिस् <i>kūtiś</i> .	कूत्यन् <i>kūtyan</i> or कैत्यन् <i>kaityan</i> .
Ag.	कूति <i>kūtiⁱ</i> .	कूत्यौ <i>kūtyau</i> or कैत्यौ <i>kaityau</i> .

Its fem. is कूच् *kūts^u*.

The word कूह् *kūh*, or कौह् *kūh*, a certain person, is declined as a feminine ending in a consonant (ii. iii. 29).

THIRD DECLENSION.

Feminine nouns ending in इ *i-mātrā*, ऊ *ū-mātrā*, or ऊ *ū*.पूथि *pūthi*, a book.(a). Nouns ending in इ *i-mātrā*.

Nom.	पूथि <i>pūthi</i> (ii. i. 9).	पोथ्य <i>pōthē</i> (11, 33).
Acc.	पोथ्य <i>pōthē</i> (21, 33, 38, 40).	पोथ्यन् <i>pōthyan</i> (12, 38).
	पूथि <i>pūthi</i> (39).	पोथ्य <i>pōthē</i> (39).
Gen.	पोथ्य हन्द् <i>pōthē hand^u</i> (42).	पोथ्यन् हन्द् <i>pōthyan hand^u</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	पोथ्य यद् <i>pōthē pyāth</i> , &c. (52, 53).	पोथ्यन् यद् <i>pōthyan pyāth</i> (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	पोथ्य कित् <i>pōthē kyut^u</i> (54, 55).	पोथ्यन् कित् <i>pōthyan kyut^u</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	पोथ्य सूतिन् <i>pōthē sūtin</i> (60).	पोथ्यन् सूतिन् <i>pōthyan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	पोथि <i>pōthi</i> (6, 56).	पोथ्यौ <i>pōthyan</i> (56; i. 4).
Instr.	पोथि सूतिन् <i>pōthi sūtin</i> (33, 59).	पोथ्यौ सूतिन् <i>pōthyan sūtin</i> (59).
	पोथ्य हन्दि सूतिन् <i>pōthē handi sūtin</i> (61).	पोथ्यन् हन्दि सूतिन् <i>pōthyan handi sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	पोथि अन्द्र <i>pōthi andr^a</i> (57).	पोथ्यौ अन्द्र <i>pōthyan andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	पोथि पुष् <i>pōthi putshy</i> (63).	पोथ्यौ पुष् <i>pōthyan putshy</i> (33, 63).
	पोथ्य हन्दि पुष् <i>pōthē handi putshy</i> (63).	पोथ्यन् हन्दि पुष् <i>pōthyan handi putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	पोथि निष् <i>pōthi niṣ^a</i> (65).	पोथ्यौ निष् <i>pōthyan niṣ^a</i> (65).

Similarly are declined, ऊँरि *ūūrī*, a hoof; खीति *khūi*, a field; चीरि *cīrī*, a lottery ticket.

If the penultimate of a feminine word contains the vowel *ū*, that *ū* becomes *ō* in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus पूथि *pūthi* a book; nom. pl. पोथ्य *pōthē* (33).

So also a penultimate *ī* becomes a *ē* in the same circumstance. Thus खीर *khīrī*, a field; nom. pl. खेत्य *khētē*. The word चीरि *cīrī*, a lottery-ticket or slip, does not, however, change its long *ī*, and its nom. pl. is चीर्य *cīrē* (33).

(b). Nouns ending in क् *ū-mātrā*.

कूर *kūr^ū*, a girl.

Nom.	कूर <i>kūr^ū</i> (ii. i. 9).	कोर्य <i>kōrē</i> (11, 30, 33).
Acc.	कोर्य <i>kōrē</i> (21, 33, 38, 40).	कोर्यन् <i>kōryan</i> (12, 30, 33, 38).
	कूर <i>kūr^ū</i> (39).	कोर्य <i>kōrē</i> (39).
Gen.	कोर्य हन्द् <i>kōrē hand^u</i> (42).	कोर्यन् हन्द् <i>kōryan hand^u</i> .
Loc. 1.	कोर्य प्द <i>kōrē pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).	कोर्यन् प्द <i>kōryan pyāṭh</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	कोर्य कित् <i>kōrē kyut^u</i> (54, 55).	कोर्यन् कित् <i>kōryan kyut^u</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	कोर्य स्तित् <i>kōrē sṭin</i> (60).	कोर्यन् स्तित् <i>kōryan sṭin</i> (60).
Agent.	कोरि <i>kōri</i> (6, 56).	कोर्यौ <i>kōryau</i> (56, 30; i. 4).
Instr.	कोरि स्तित् <i>kōri sṭin</i> (6, 30, 59).	कोर्यौ स्तित् <i>kōryau sṭin</i> (33, 59).
	कोर्य हन्दि स्तित् <i>kōrē handi sṭin</i> (61).	कोर्यन् हन्दि स्तित् <i>kōryan handi sṭin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	कोरि अन्द्र <i>kōri andr^a</i> (57).	कोर्यौ अन्द्र <i>kōryau andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	कोरि पुष् <i>kōri putshy</i> (63).	कोर्यौ पुष् <i>kōryau putshy</i> (63).
	कोर्य हन्दि पुष् <i>kōrē handi putshy</i> (63).	कोर्यन् हन्दि पुष् <i>kōryan handi putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	कोरि निष् <i>kōri niṣ^a</i> (65).	कोर्यौ निष् <i>kōryau niṣ^a</i> (65).

Similarly are declined पट् $paṭṭṃ$, a tablet; हट् $haṭṭṃ$, wood; काट् $kāṭṭṃ$, a stalk, especially the non-edible part of asparagus, sugarcane, &c.; बड् $baḍḍṃ$, a great woman; तञ्ज् $taññṃ$ (or तज् $tañṃ$) a slender woman; लण्ड् $laṇḍḍṃ$, a branch.

The final $ṭ$ becomes i (or y) throughout, except in the nom. sg. (30).

All nouns of this declension ending in ट् $ṭṃ$, ठ् $ṭṃ$, or ड् $ḍṃ$, change the consonant to the corresponding palatal, in all cases except the nominative singular. Thus—

Nom. sing.	Nom. pl.
पट् $paṭṭṃ$.	पच्य $pacčṃ$.
काट् $kāṭṭṃ$.	काच्य $kācčṃ$.
बड् $baḍḍṃ$.	बज्य $bajjṃ$.

This change only occurs when the word ends in $ṭ$ -mātrā (22). It does not occur when it ends in a consonant (26).

If the penultimate of a feminine word contains the vowel $ū$, that $ū$ becomes $ō$ in all cases except the nom. singular, thus कूरू $kūrū$, a girl, nom. pl. कोर्य $kōrṃ$ (33).

The following are exceptions and do not change the $ū$ (35). तूरू $tūrū$ cold; दूरू $dūrū$, a lane; मूरू $mūrū$, a twig. Thus from तूरू $tūrū$; nom. pl. तूर्य $tūrṃ$.

So also a penultimate i becomes $ē$ in the same circumstances. Thus, सीरू $sīrū$, a brick, nom. pl. सेर्य $sērṃ$. The following words (33) however, do not change,—

गीरू $gīrū$, red-chalk.	Nom. pl. गीर्य $gīrṃ$.
गीदू $gīdū$, child's excrement.	गीच्य $gīcčṃ$.
टीरू $tīrū$, pride.	टीच्य $tīcčṃ$ (22).
टीरू $tīrū$, cold-boiled-rice-pudding.	टीर्य $tīrṃ$.
पीरू $pīrū$, a table.	पीर्य $pīrṃ$.

Whenever in this declension *ū-mātrā* is preceded by *a* or *ā*, the *a* or *ā* become modified to *ṛ* or *ṝ* respectively (70). Thus,

Base पट् *paṭ*, a tablet; nom. sg. पट् *paṭ̄*, but acc. sg. पच्य *pacyē*; ag. sg. पचि *paci* (*i* fully pronounced,—not *i-mātrā*); nom. pl. पच्य *pacē*; acc. pl. पच्यन् *pacyan*; ag. pl. पच्यौ *pacyau*.

So,—Base माज् *māj*, a mother; nom. sg. माज् *māj̄*; but acc. sg. माच्य *mājē*.

Again; Base, काट् *kāṭh*, wood; nom. sg. काट् *kāṭh̄*; acc. sg. काच्य *kāchē*.

(c). Nouns ending in ज् *ñ*.

Similarly are declined all feminine nouns in ज् *ñ*, thus स्याज् *myāñ*, mine (fem.).

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	स्याज् <i>myāñ</i> .	स्याज् <i>myāñē</i> .
Acc.	स्याज् <i>myāñē</i> .	स्याजन् <i>myāñan</i> .
Ag.	स्याजि <i>myāñi</i> .	स्याजौ <i>myāñau</i> .

The vowel is only modified in the nom. sing. So also च्याज् *cyāñ* thine (fem.); स्याज् *sāñ*, our (fem.) (ii. iii. 11 and ff).

As the semivowel य *ya* cannot, as a rule, immediately follow च् *ṭ*, क् *ṭh*, or ज् *z*, when a noun ends in च् *ṭ̄*, क् *ṭh̄*, or ज् *z̄*, the य *ya* is elided in declension. Thus सच्च *mats̄*, mad, (feminine): nom. pl. सच्य *mats̄a*, not सच्य *mats̄ē*. कक् *kwat̄h̄*, a small bag: pl. कक् *kōṭ̄s̄a*. वरज् *wōr̄a^az̄̄*, a woman who has married twice, pl. वरज् *wōr̄a^az̄̄a*. (iv. 51). The य *ya* is, however, retained in the singular. Thus the acc. sg. is सच्य *mats̄ē*, कच्य *kōṭ̄h̄ē*, and वरज्य *wōr̄a^az̄̄ē*.

FOURTH DECLENSION.

Nouns ending in अ a, or a consonant.

(a). Nouns ending in अ a

व्यञ्ज *bēñē*, a sister.

Nom.	व्यञ्ज <i>bēñē</i> (ii. i. 1).	व्यञ्ज <i>bēñē</i> (1).
Acc.	व्यञ्ज <i>bēñe</i> (38, 40, 39).	व्यञ्जन् <i>bēñan</i> (38). व्यञ्ज <i>bēñē</i> (39).
Gen.	व्यञ्ज हन्द् <i>bēñē hand^a</i> (42).	व्यञ्जन् हन्द् <i>bēñan hand^a</i> (42).
Loc. 1.	व्यञ्ज यद् <i>bēñē pyāth</i> (52, 53).	व्यञ्जन् यद् <i>bēñan pyāth</i> , &c. (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	व्यञ्ज कित् <i>bēñē kyut^a</i> (54, 55).	व्यञ्जन् कित् <i>bēñan kyut^a</i> (54, 55).
Concom.	व्यञ्ज स्तित् <i>bēñe sūtin</i> (60).	व्यञ्जन् स्तित् <i>bēñan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	व्यञ्जि <i>bēñi</i> (56; i. 4).	व्यञ्जौ <i>bēñau</i> (56, i. 4).
Instr.	व्यञ्जि स्तित् <i>bēñi sūtin</i> (59).	व्यञ्जौ स्तित् <i>bēñau sūtin</i> (59).
	व्यञ्ज हन्दि स्तित् <i>bēñē handi sūtin</i> (61).	व्यञ्जन् हन्दि स्तित् <i>bēñan handi sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	व्यञ्जि अन्द्र <i>bēñi andr^a</i> (57).	व्यञ्जौ अन्द्र <i>bēñau andr^a</i> (57).
Dat. 2.	व्यञ्जि पुष् <i>bēñi putshy</i> (63).	व्यञ्जौ पुष् <i>bēñau putshy</i> (63).
	व्यञ्ज हन्दि पुष् <i>bēñē handi putshy</i> .	व्यञ्जन् हन्दि पुष् <i>bēñan handi putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	व्यञ्जि निष् <i>bēñi niç^a</i> (65).	व्यञ्जौ निष् <i>bēñau niç^a</i> (65).

(b). Nouns ending in a consonant.

माल् *māl*, a garland.

Nom.	माल् <i>māl</i> (ii. i. 10).	माल <i>māl</i> ^a (11).
Acc.	मालि <i>māli</i> (37, 38, मालन् <i>mālan</i> (12, 38). 40).	माल <i>māl</i> ^a (39).
Gen.	मालि हन्द् <i>māli haṇḍ</i> ^a (42).	मालन् हन्द् <i>mālan haṇḍ</i> ^a (42).
Loc. 1.	मालि यट् <i>māli pyāṭh</i> , &c., (52, 53).	मालन् यट् <i>mālan pyāṭh</i> , &c., (52, 53).
Dat. 1.	मालि कित् <i>māli kyut</i> ^a (54, 55).	मालन् कित् <i>mālan kyut</i> ^a .
Concom.	मालि स्तित् <i>māli sūtin</i> (60).	मालन् स्तित् <i>mālan sūtin</i> (60).
Agent.	मालि <i>māli</i> (56).	मालौ <i>mālau</i> (56).
Instr.	मालि स्तित् <i>māli sūtin</i> (59).	मालौ स्तित् <i>mālau sūtin</i> (59).
	मालि हन्दि स्तित् <i>māli</i> <i>handi sūtin</i> (61).	मालन् हन्दि स्तित् <i>mālan handi</i> <i>sūtin</i> (61).
Loc. 2.	मालि अन्द्र <i>māli andr</i> ^a (57).	मालौ अन्द्र <i>mālau andr</i> ^a (57).
Dat. 2.	मालि पुष् <i>māli putshy</i> (63).	मालौ पुष् <i>mālau putshy</i> (63).
	मालि हन्दि पुष् <i>māli</i> <i>handi putshy</i> (63).	मालन् हन्दि पुष् <i>mālan handi</i> <i>putshy</i> (63).
Abl.	मालि निश् <i>māli niṣ</i> ^a (65).	मालौ निश् <i>mālan niṣ</i> ^a (65).

Similarly are declined कृक् *kruk*, a loud noise; नारिज् *nārij*, a con-
duit; जङ्ग *zagg*, a thigh.

Note that when a noun ends in क् *k*, च् *c*, त्स् *ts*, ट् *t*, त् *t* or प् *p*, these letters are aspirated in the nom. sing. (66, 67) ; thus —

	Nom. sg.	but Nom. pl.
क्रक् <i>krak</i> , a loud noise.	क्रक् <i>krākh</i> .	क्रक् <i>krak^a</i> .
रच् <i>rats</i> , abrus precativus.	रच् <i>rātsh</i> .	रच् <i>rat^as</i> .
रट्च् <i>rtś</i> , a sub-caste.	रट्च् <i>rtsh</i> .	रट्च् <i>rt^as</i> .
नट् <i>nat</i> , trembling.	नट् <i>nāth</i> .	नट् <i>nat^a</i> .
वत् <i>wat</i> , a road.	वत् <i>wāth</i> .	वत् <i>wat^a</i> .
चाप् <i>tsāp</i> , food.	चाप् <i>tsāph</i> .	चाप् <i>tsāp^a</i> .

The aspiration, being at the end of a word, is barely audible, but it affects the preceding vowel. It only occurs in the nominative singular.

This aspiration does not occur if a final त् *t* or च् *ts* forms part (either the first or second member) of a compound consonant (even when a short *a* is inserted to aid pronunciation) (68) : thus ;—

	Nom. sg.
बत्च् <i>bat^ac</i> , a duck.	बत्च् <i>bat^ac</i> (elsewhere spelled बत्च् <i>bat^ac^w</i> , see p. 32).
ब्वक्च् <i>bōk^ats</i> , a female puppy. ¹	ब्वक्च् <i>bōk^ats</i> .
मक्च् <i>mak^ats</i> , an axe.	मक्च् <i>mak^ats</i> .
नस्त् <i>nast</i> , nose.	नस्त् <i>nast</i> .

Other compounds are, however, aspirated. Thus,—

	Nom. sg.	Nom. pl.
रेम्प् <i>rēmp</i> , a little.	रेम्प् <i>rēmph</i> .	रेम्प् <i>rēm^ap</i> .
चाम्प् <i>tsāmp</i> , consolation.	चाम्प् <i>tsāmph</i> .	चाम्प् <i>tsāmp^a</i> .

The word ज़ाम् *zām*, a husband's sister, is irregular (71). In all cases, except the nominative singular, it becomes ज़ोम् *zōm*, and drops every vowel in the terminations. Thus; acc. sg. ज़ोम् *zōm*; ag. sg.

¹ So Iqvara-kaula. Mr. H. Knowles informs me that this word means the young of any animal.

ज़ोम् *zōm*; nom. pl. ज़ोम् *zōm*; acc. pl. ज़ोम्न् *zōm^{an}*; ag. pl. ज़ोम् *zōm^{av}*; instr. sg. ज़ोम् स्तित् *zōm sūtīn*; gen. sg. ज़ोम् हन्दु *zōm hand^u*, &c.

The word मूष *mūṣ* (ii. iii. 28), a buffalo-cow, changes *u* to *ai* in all cases except the nom. sg., thus—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	मूष <i>mūṣ</i> .	मैष <i>maiṣ^u</i> .
Acc.	मैषि <i>maiṣi</i> .	मैषन् <i>maiṣan</i> .
Ag.	मैषि <i>maiṣi</i> .	मैषौ <i>maiṣau</i> .

The word कूँह *kūḥ* or काँह *kāḥ*, any one, some one, though of both genders, is always declined as a feminine, in the sg. number. It changes *u* and *ā* to *ai* and *h* to *s* in all cases except the nom. sg. (ii. iii. 29). It becomes केन्त् *kēnts* in the plural (ii. iii. 30) and is then declined as a masculine.

Thus,—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	कूँह <i>kūḥ</i> , काँह <i>kāḥ</i> .	केन्त् <i>kēnts</i> .
Acc.	कैसि <i>kaṣi</i> .	केन्त्न् <i>kēnts^{an}</i> .
Ag.	कैसि <i>kaṣi</i> .	केन्वौ <i>kēnts^{au}</i> .

(c). Irregular Feminine Nouns, ending in Consonants.

रात् *rāt*, night.Nom. राय् *rāth* (ii. i. 10, 66). राच् *rāts̄* (16, 23).Acc. राच् *rāts̄* (16, 23, 38, राच्न *rāts̄n* (14, 16, 23, 38).
40).राय् *rāth* (39).राच् *rāts̄* (39).Gen. राच् हन्द् *rāts̄ hand̄*
(42).राच्न हन्द् *rāts̄n hand̄* (42).Loc. 1. राच् मञ्ज *rāts̄ manz*,
&c. (52, 53).राच्न मञ्ज *rāts̄n manz*, &c. (52,
53).Dat. 1. राच् कित् *rāts̄ kyut̄*
(54, 55).राच्न कित् *rāts̄n kyut̄* (54, 55)Concom. राच् छतिन् *rāts̄ s̄tin*
(60).राच्न छतिन् *rāts̄n s̄tin*.Agent. राच् *rāts̄* (7, 17).राच्व *rāts̄v* (20, 56).Instr. राच् छतिन् *rāts̄ s̄tin*
(59).राच्व छतिन् *rāts̄v s̄tin* (59).राच् हन्दि छतिन् *rāts̄ handi s̄tin* (61).राच्न हन्दि छतिन् *rāts̄n handi s̄tin* (61).Loc. 2. राच् अन्द्र *rāts̄ andr̄*
(57).राच्व अन्द्र *rāts̄v andr̄*.Dat. 2. राच् पुष् *rāts̄ putshy*
(63).राच्व पुष् *rāts̄v putshy* (63).राच् हन्दि पुष् *rāts̄ handi putshy* (63).राच्न हन्दि पुष् *rāts̄n handi putshy* (63).Abl. राच् निश् *rāts̄ niç̄*
(65).राच्व निश् *rāts̄v niç̄* (65).

This group of irregular nouns consists of most feminine nouns in त् *t*, थ् *th*, द् *d*, न् *n*, ह् *h*, and certain nouns in ल् *l*. In all these cases the final consonant is changed as follows:—

त् <i>t</i>	becomes च् <i>ts</i>
थ् <i>th</i>	ह् <i>tsʰ</i>
द् <i>d</i>	ज् <i>z</i>
न् <i>n</i>	ज् <i>ñ</i>
ह् <i>h</i>	श् <i>ç</i>
ल् <i>l</i>	ज् <i>j</i>

e.g., रात् *rāt*, night;

Nom. pl. राच् *rāṭṣ*^u (23, 14, 16).

काय् *kōth*, a hank;

काच् *kwāṭṣh*^u (23, 14, 16).

ग्रन् *grand*, a counting;

ग्रज् *granz*^u (23, 14, 16).

ईरन् *yīran*, an anvil;

ईरज् *īrañ*^u (23, 14, 16).

काह् *kāh*, eleventh lunar day;

काश् *kāç*^u (19, 14, 16).

वाल् *wāl*, a hole;

वाज् *wāj*^u (27, 14, 16).

Other examples are सत् *sat*, hope; हान् *hān*, loss; चामन् *tsāman*, cheese.

The words in ल् *l* which follow this declension are वाल् *wāl*, a hole (as that of a serpent); साल् *sāl*, a wife's sister; जाल् *zāl*, a net; कल् *kal*, thought, consideration; and हाल् *hāl*, a house, a hall (27, 28). The word हाल् *hāl* when it is at the end of a masculine compound is, however, declined regularly; thus चाटहालस् अन्दर् *tsāṭahālas andar* (not चाटहालज् अन्दर् *tsāṭahāj^u andar*), in the school-house, because चाटहाल् *tsāṭahāl* is masculine (28). The words कुण्डल् *kunḍal*, a kind of cup (especially the cup of a portable stove), and कर्तल् *kartal* a sword, may optionally be regular. Thus कुण्डलज् सृतिन् *kunḍāj^u sṛtin* or कुण्डलि सृतिन् *kunḍali sṛtin*, by the cup, (29).

EXCEPTIONS. The following nouns are however declined regularly (24, 25):—

वत् *wat*, a road.

लत् *lat*, a kick.

दत् *dat*, a clod.

थत् *thōt*, an impediment.

त्सत् *tsōt*, the anus.

त्सित् *tsitt*, a sprain.

त्सेत् *tsēt*, tumbling head over heels.

गत् *gāt*, a rise in a river, a swift flood.

पीत् *pīt*, a trifle.

तोत् *tōt*, a beak.

कथ् *kāth*, a story.

व्यथ् *vyāth*, the river Jhelum.

खन् *khōn*, the elbow.

तन् *tan*, the body.

नान् *nān*, the navel.

खन् *sōn*, a co-wife.

हन् *han*, a little.

बन् *ban*, a heap, pile.

Thus वति *wati* *sūtīn*, not वच् *watś* *sūtīn*.

It must be remembered that the *ū-mātrā* modifies a preceding *a* to *u*, and *ā* to *ū* (71). When final it is not pronounced. When it precedes a consonant it is pronounced like a short German *ü*. Thus राच् *rāts^u* is pronounced something like, German, *rōtsüv*.

It must also be remembered that words ending in *t* form the nominative singular in *th* (66). Thus the nom. sg. of रात् *rāt*, night, is राथ् *rāth*, and of वत् *wat*, a road, is वथ् *wath*.

The words यद् *yād*, belly; गाच् *gāv*, a cow; थच् *thar*, the back; कद्

kōfh, a fragrant root, *Aucklandia Costus*; *वड् wāḍ*, discount; are similarly declined, except that they do not change their final consonant. Thus *यड् स्रतिन् yaḍ^u sṛtin*, by the belly (7). Nom. pl. *यड् yaḍ^u* (17).

The words *खार् khār*, an ass's load, a certain measure; *सार mār*, the name of a river; *सार sār*, a cross-beam, for strengthening; *रास् rās*, stock-in-trade; follow the same rule. *E.g.*, nom. pl. *खार् khār^u* (18). [*Sūtra* 18, apparently only refers to the plural. But the singular follows the same rule, *e.g.*, *खार् स्रतिन् khār^u sṛtin*, by the measure].

The word *गाव् gāv*, abovementioned, changes its *ā* to *ō* in all cases except the nom. sg. (72); thus, acc. sg. *गोव् gōv^u*; ag. sg. *गोव् gōv^u*; nom. pl. *गोव् gōv^u*; acc. pl. *गोवन् gōv^un*; ag. pl. *गोव्व् gōv^uv*.

E. Composition and Concordance.

Īçvara-kaula, in his *Kāçmīra-çabdāmṛta*, treats of the two subjects forming the title of this section, in the *Samāsa-prakriyā*, the third portion of his grammar. He treats an adjective in concord with a noun as an example of a *karmadhāraya*, or adjectival compound. Really, as will be seen, it is not a compound at all, but an instance of syntactical agreement. Just as *bonus homo*, in Latin means a good man, and *boni hominis*, of a good man, so *बड् लार^u*, in Kāçmīrī means a large house, and *baji lari pyāth^u*, means from a great house.

In the case of all compounds and concordances the postposition denoting the case is omitted after every member of the compound, except the last, but each member is inflected as if to receive the postposition (iii. 2). Thus, *चत्तुर् गुर^u chat^u gur^u* means, a white horse. The instrumental plural of *चत्तुर् chat^u* is *चत्तौ स्रतिन् chatyau sṛtin*, and of *गुर^u* is *गुर्यौ स्रतिन् guryau sṛtin*, but the instrumental plural of *चत्तुर् गुर^u chat^u gur^u*, is *चत्तौ गुर्यौ स्रतिन् chatyau guryau sṛtin*, not *चत्तौ स्रतिन् गुर्यौ स्रतिन् chatyau sṛtin guryau sṛtin*, by white horses. When there is no postposition these remarks, of course, do not apply. Thus the accusative singular is *चत्तिस् गुरिस् chatiḥ guriḥ*, and the nom. pl. is *चत्ति गुरि chatiḥ guriḥ*.

Karmadhāraya or adjectival compounds are expressed in Kāçmīrī by an adjective agreeing with its substantive in gender, number and case. The above rule about postpositions must be applied. Thus बड् चार् *baḍ^u dyār* (masc.), great wealth; बड्यन् चारन् कुङ् जेनान् *baḍyan dyāran* *chuh zēnān*, he is earning great wealth (acc. pl.); म्वचि च्वचि स्रतिन् *mōci tsōci sūtin*, by a thick (म्वट् *mōṭ^u*) cake (चट् *tswaṭ^u*, fem.); चिचि कोरि पुष् *trichi kōri putshy*, for a clever (चुसु *tryukh^u*, fem. चिचि *trich^u*) girl (कूरु *kūr^u*); बजि लरि यठ *baji lari pyāṭh^a* from the big (बड् *baḍ^u*) house (लरु *lar^u*); बच्च प्रङ्गु चन्दु *bajē granz^u haṇḍ^u*, of the big counting (चन्द *grand*); बडिस् गुरिस् यठ *baḍis guris pyāṭh*, on the great horse (गुरु *gur^u*). And so on.

In **Copulative** (*dvandva*) compounds each member of the compound is declined separately, the above rule as to post-positions being observed. Thus, base ताप् *tāp*, light (masc.); गट *gaṭ^a*, darkness (fem.). The nom. sg. of ताप् *tāp* is ताप् *tāph* and the instr. sg. is ताप् स्रतिन् *tāp^a sūtin*. So from गट *gaṭ^a*, the nom. sg. is गट *gaṭ^a*, and the instr. sg. गटि स्रतिन् *gaṭi sūtin*. The compound noun, 'light and darkness' is nom. sg. ताप् गट *tāph-gaṭ^a*; instr. sg. ताप्-गटि स्रतिन् *tāp^a-gaṭi sūtin*, and so on. Again वार् *wār^u* (fem.) is a garden; कुलु *kul^u* (masc.) is a tree; फल *phal* (masc.) is fruit; and जल *zal* (masc.) is water. Making these into a copulative compound we have in the dative sg. वारि-कुलि-फल-जल पुष् *wāri-kuli-phal^a-zal^a putshy*, for the garden, the tree, the fruit, and the water. Sometimes each member is put in the plural, the whole collective idea being plural though each member of the compound is properly in the singular. Thus माँजू *māj^u*, a mother, nom. pl. माच्च *mājē*; कूरु *kūr^u*, a daughter, nom. pl. कोर्य *kōrē*. Hence माच्च-कोर्य *mājē-kōrē*, mother and daughter. So मालि पुष् *mālⁱ-puth^a*, father and son (मोलु *mōl^u*, a father; पुष् *puth^a*, a son); चम्-नव *haṭ^a-nōṣ^a*, mother-in-law (चम् *haṭ*) daughter-in-law (नव *nōṣ*); जोम्-काकज *zōm-kākañē*, husband's sister (जाम् *zām*) and brother's wife (काकज *kākañ*); पच्च-कुच *pacē-kūcē*, board (पट *paṭ^u*) and wood (कूट *kūt^u*).

In *Tatpuruṣa* or appositional compounds, the first member usually takes the form which the word adopts in the agent, the न् *n* of the agent of the 1st declension, being dropped. We may also say that the first member of the compound is put in the genitive, the post-position being dropped, and *y* being changed to *i* (iii. 5).

Thus, आकि-खण् *frāki-khaç*, the cut of a knife (आख् *frākh*, fem.).

ढोपि-फलु *tōpi-phal^u*, the border of a cap (ढूपि *tūpⁱ*, fem.).

सर्प-बय सतिन् *sar^apa-bay^a sātⁱn*, by the fear (बय *bay^a*, masc.) of a snake (सर्प् *sar^aph*, masc.).

राज-न्यचिवि पुष् *rāj^a-nēcivⁱ put^{shy}*, for the son (न्यचुन् *nēc^{yuv^u}*) of the king (राज् *rāj^a*).

बट-कोयं हन्दु *baṭ^a-kōrē haṇḍ^u*, of the daughter (कूर् *kūr^u*) of the *brāhmaṇa* (बट *baṭ^a*).

खन-डब खन् *ṣōn^a-ḍab^a an*, bring the box (डब *ḍab^a*, masc.) of gold (खन् *ṣōn*, masc.), i.e., the gold box.

म्यचि-खतु थव् *mēsⁱ-phot^u thav*, put down a basket (खतु *phot^u* masc.) (full) of earth (म्यच् *myat^{s^u}*).

Irregular formations.

1. When the word पोञ् *pōñ^u*, water, forms the second member of one of these compounds, it becomes वोञ् *wōñ^u* (iii. 6). Thus,—

गंग-वोञ् *gaṅg^a-wōñ^u*, the water of the Ganges.

जथ-वोञ् *vyath^a-wōñ^u*, the water of the Jhelum.

शीन-वोञ् *ṣīn^a-wōñ^u*, snow-water.

डुग-वोञ् *wuḡ^a-wōñ^u*, flood-water.

मार्-वोञ् *mār^u-wōñ^u*, the water of the Mār [see p. 67].

क्रीरि-वोञ् *krīrⁱ-wōñ^u*, well (क्रीर् *krīr^u*, masc.) water.

रुद-वोञ् *rūd^a-wōñ^u*, rain-water.

नाग-वोञ् *nāg^a-wōñ^u*, spring-water.

2. The words पोञ्जु *pōñ^u*, water, दाञ्ज *dāñē* (masc.) rice, वोञ्जु *wōñ^u*, a merchant, and others, become पां *pā*, दां *dā*, and वां *wā* respectively, when (iii. 7, 8) they are first members of one of these compounds.

Thus,—

पां-बख् *pā-trāk^h*, a measure ($4\frac{3}{4}$ sērs) of water.

पां-नट् *pā-naṭ^u*, a water-bucket.

दां-बार *dā-khār*, a measure (16 *trāk^h*s) of rice.

दां-फुत् *dā-phoṭ^u*, a basket (full) of rice.

वां-खल् *wā-dyal^u*, the merchant's straw.

वां-कूल् *wā-kūr^u*, the merchant's daughter.

3. The प *p* of the word पथर् *paṭ^har*, a leaf, becomes व *w* in masculine compounds (iii. 9). Thus,—

बोजि-वथर् *bōñi-waṭ^har*, plane-tree-leaves.

पोष-वथर् *pōṣ^u-waṭ^har*, a flower-petal.

ख्यल्ल-वथर् *khyall^u-waṭ^har*, a leaf of the lotus-grass.

हाक-वथर् *hāk^u-waṭ^har*, spinach-leaves.

When, however, the compound is feminine, the word पथर् *paṭ^har*, becomes पत् *paṭ^u*. Thus

मुजि-पत् *muji-paṭ^u* (fem.), a radish-leaf.

ग्वजि-पत् *gōg^uji-paṭ^u* (fem.), a turnip-leaf.

4. The word चट् *ṭṣwaṭ^u*, a cake (fem.), is restricted in composition to cakes made of grain (iii. 12). Thus

तमल-चट् *tōma^la-ṭṣwaṭ^u*, rice-cake.

कन्क-चट् *kan^ak^u-ṭṣwaṭ^u*, wheat-cake.

बुष्कि-चट् *wuṣki-ṭṣwaṭ^u*, barley-cake.

If not made of grain, the word म्वण्ड *mwand^u*, must be substituted.

Thus

ठूल-खंड ¹*thūl^o-mvaṇḍ^u*, egg-cake.

नदुरि-खंड ¹*naḍarⁱ-mvaṇḍ^u*, lotus-stalk-cake.

चामल-खंड ¹*tsāmaṇ^u-mvaṇḍ^u* (also written, चामल ¹*tsāmaṇ^u*), cheese-cake.

अद्रक-खंड ¹*adrak-mvaṇḍ^u*, ginger-cake [apparently irregular].

The masculine form ¹*mvaṇḍ^u*, can, however, be used for grain cakes, thus

तमल-खंड ¹*tōma^l-mvaṇḍ^u*, rice-cake, (तमल ¹*tōmul*, rice).

अब-खंड ¹*ab^a-mvaṇḍ^u*, a cake of parched meal.

Bahu-vrihi or relative compounds are similarly formed. When formed of an adjective and a substantive, the adjective is usually put last (iii. 13). Examples are

यड-बड ¹*yad^a-baḍ^u* (not यड-बड ¹*yad^u-baḍ^u*, as we might expect), big-bellied, Skr. *brhad-udara*, quasi *udara-brhat*.

दारि-बूट ¹*dāri-zyūṭh^u*, long (बूट ¹*zyūṭh^u*) bearded (दारि ¹*dār^u*, fem., a beard).

कन-चट ¹*kan^a-tsot^u* having the ear (कन ¹*kan*, masc.) cut (चट ¹*tsot^u*).

हनि-बुथ ¹*hūnⁱ-buth^u*, dog (हनु ¹*hūn^u*, a dog) faced (बुथ ¹*buth^u*, a face).

When one member of the compound is a numeral, it is put first, thus

दु-वहर् ¹*du-wahar^u*, occurring every two years.

सत-बोचु ¹*sat^a-bōṭe^u*, having a family of seven.

पाँच-पतुर ¹*pāñc^a-potur*, having five sons.

Alliterative compounds (which are always feminine) are also classed as *bahu-vrihis* by Īçvara-kaula (iii. 14); thus

झल-झल ¹*thōl^a-thōl*, mutual pushing with horns.

टप-टफ ¹*tap^a-ṭāph*, mutual kicking.

ठूक-ठूक ¹*thūk^a-thūkh*, mutual pushing with horns.

चप-चफ ¹*cap^a-cāph*, tooth against tooth.

When an adjective is used as an adverb, its form is not changed (v. 5). It stands in the masculine singular.

Thus,—

गव् गव् कुह् पकान् *gob^u gob^u chuh pakān*, he is going slowly.

चतुर (or चतुर चतुर) खवान् कुह् *tsatur* (or *tsatur tsatur*) *kyawān chuh*, he is eating quickly.

लव् करान् कुह् *lot^u karān chuh*, he is doing slowly.

F. Numerals.

The following are the Kāçmīrī numerals from one to ten millions, as written down for me by my Paṇḍit. They differ in several respects from those given by Wade.

CARDINALS.

- 1 अक् *ākḥ*.
- 2 जह् *z^hḥ*.
- 3 त्रिह् *trih* or त्रह् *trēh*.
- 4 चौर् *tsōr*.
- 5 पान्च् *pānts* or पान्च् *pānts*.
- 6 सह् *śah*.
- 7 सथ् *sāth*.
- 8 ऐठ् *aiṭh*.
- 9 नव् *nav*.
- 10 दह् *dah*.
- 11 काह् *kāh*.
- 12 बाह् *bāh*.
- 13 त्रुवाह् *truwāh*.
- 14 च्दाह् *tsōdāh*.
- 15 पन्दाह् *pandāh*.

ORDINALS.

- अक्युम् *akyum^u* or गव्दञ्जुक् *gōdañjuk^u*.
- द्वयुम् *dōyum^u*.
- त्रयुम् *trēyum^u*.
- चतुर्युम् *tsūryum^u*.
- पन्त्युम् *pāntsium^u*.
- षयुम् *śayum^u*.
- सत्युम् *satyum^u*.
- ऐथ्युम् *aiṭhyum^u*.
- नयुम् *navyum^u*.
- दह्युम् *dahyum^u*.
- काह्युम् *kāhyum^u*.
- बाह्युम् *bāhyum^u*.
- त्रुवाह्युम् *truwāhyum^u*.
- च्दाह्युम् *tsōdāhyum^u*.
- पन्दाह्युम् *pandāhyum^u*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 16 घुराद् <i>ṣurāh.</i> | घुराद्घुम् <i>ṣurāhyum^u.</i> |
| 17 सदाद् <i>sadāh.</i> | सदाद्घुम् <i>sadāhyum^u.</i> |
| 18 अरदाद् <i>aradāh.</i> | अरदाद्घुम् <i>aradāhyum^u.</i> |
| 19 कुनवुद् <i>kunawuh.</i> | कुनवुद्घुम् <i>kunawuhyum^u.</i> |
| 20 वुद् <i>wuh.</i> | वुद्घुम् <i>wuhyum^u.</i> |
| 21 अकवुद् <i>akawuh.</i> | अकवुद्घुम् <i>akawuhyum^u.</i> |
| 22 ज्तोवुद् <i>z^atōwuh.</i> | ज्तोवुद्घुम् <i>z^atōwuhyum^u.</i> |
| 23 त्रवुद् <i>trēwuh.</i> | त्रवुद्घुम् <i>trēwuhyum^u.</i> |
| 24 त्ठवुद् <i>tṣōwuh.</i> | त्ठवुद्घुम् <i>tṣōwuhyum^u.</i> |
| 25 पून्चद् <i>pūntṣ^ah.</i> | पून्चद्घुम् <i>pūntṣ^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 26 षवुद् <i>ṣawuh.</i> | षवुद्घुम् <i>ṣawuhyum^u.</i> |
| 27 सतोवुद् <i>satōwuh.</i> | सतोवुद्घुम् <i>satōwuhyum^u.</i> |
| 28 ऐठोवुद् <i>aiṭhōwuh.</i> | ऐठोवुद्घुम् <i>aiṭhōwuhyum^u.</i> |
| 29 कुनव्द् <i>kunatr^ah.</i> | कुनव्द्घुम् <i>kunatr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 30 त्र्द् <i>tr^ah.</i> | त्र्द्घुम् <i>tr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 31 अकत्र्द् <i>akatr^ah.</i> | अकत्र्द्घुम् <i>akatr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 32 द्वयत्र्द् <i>dōyatr^ah.</i> | द्वयत्र्द्घुम् <i>dōyatr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 33 त्र्ययत्र्द् <i>tēyatr^ah.</i> | त्र्ययत्र्द्घुम् <i>tēyatr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 34 चयत्र्द् <i>tṣōyatr^ah.</i> | चयत्र्द्घुम् <i>tṣōyatr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 35 पान्चत्र्द् <i>pāntṣatr^ah</i> or <i>पान्चत्र्द्</i> | पान्चत्र्द्घुम् <i>pāntṣatr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| <i>pāntṣatr^ah.</i> | |
| 36 षयत्र्द् <i>ṣayatr^ah.</i> | षयत्र्द्घुम् <i>ṣayatr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 37 सतत्र्द् <i>satatr^ah.</i> | सतत्र्द्घुम् <i>satatr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 38 अरत्र्द् <i>aratr^ah.</i> | अरत्र्द्घुम् <i>aratr^ahyum^u.</i> |
| 39 कुनताजिद् <i>kunatājih.</i> | कुनताजिद्घुम् <i>kunatājihyum^u.</i> |
| 40 चतजिद् <i>tṣatajih.</i> | चतजिद्घुम् <i>tṣatajihyum^u.</i> |

- 41 अकताजिह् *akutājih*.
 42 द्वयताजिह् *dōyatājih*.
 43 त्रयताजिह् *tēyatājih*.
 44 चयताजिह् *tsōyatājih*.
 45 पान्चताजिह् *pāntsatājih*.
 46 षयताजिह् *ṣayatājih*.
 47 सतताजिह् *satatājih*.
 48 अरताजिह् *aratājih*.
 49 कुनवङ्गाह् *kunawanzāh*.
 50 पन्चाह् *pantśāh*.
 51 अकवङ्गाह् *akawanzāh*.
 52 द्ववङ्गाह् *dōwanzāh*.
 53 त्रवङ्गाह् *trawanzāh*.
 54 चवङ्गाह् *tsōwanzāh*.
 55 पान्चवङ्गाह् *pāntśawanzāh*.
 56 षवङ्गाह् *ṣawanzāh*.
 57 सतवङ्गाह् *saturanzāh*.
 58 अरवङ्गाह् *arawanzāh*.
 59 कुनहैट् *kunahaiṭh*.
 60 श्रैट् *ṣaiṭh* or शेट् *ṣēṭh*.
 61 अकहैट् *akahaiṭh*.²
 62 द्वहैट् *dōhaiṭh*.
 63 त्रहैट् *trahaiṭh*.
 64 चहैट् *tsōhaiṭh*.
 65 पान्चहैट् *pāntśahaiṭh*.

- अकताजिह्युस् *akutājīhyum*.¹
 द्वयताजिह्युस् *dōyatājīhyum*.
 त्रयताजिह्युस् *tēyatājīhyum*.
 चयताजिह्युस् *tsōyatājīhyum*.
 पान्चताजिह्युस् *pāntsatājīhyum*.
 षयताजिह्युस् *ṣayatājīhyum*.
 सतताजिह्युस् *satatājīhyum*.
 अरताजिह्युस् *aratājīhyum*.
 कुनवङ्गाह्युस् *kunawanzāhyum*.
 पन्चाह्युस् *pantśāhyum*.
 अकवङ्गाह्युस् *akawanzāhyum*.
 द्ववङ्गाह्युस् *dōwanzāhyum*.
 त्रवङ्गाह्युस् *trawanzāhyum*.
 चवङ्गाह्युस् *tsōwanzāhyum*.
 पान्चवङ्गाह्युस् *pāntśawanzāhyum*.
 षवङ्गाह्युस् *ṣawanzāhyum*.
 सतवङ्गाह्युस् *saturanzāhyum*.
 अरवङ्गाह्युस् *arawanzāhyum*.
 कुनहैयुस् *kunahaiṭhyum*.
 श्रैयुस् *ṣiṭhyum*.
 अकहैयुस् *akahaiṭhyum*.
 द्वहैयुस् *dōhaiṭhyum*.
 त्रहैयुस् *trahaiṭhyum*.
 चहैयुस् *tsōhaiṭhyum*.
 पान्चहैयुस् *pāntśahaiṭhyum*.

¹ Sometimes pronounced *akatājyūm*, and so throughout the forties; except forty-nine.

² Also pronounced *akahāṭh*, *akahāṭhyum*, and so throughout the sixties, except sixty-nine.

66 ष्चैट् <i>ṣ^ahaiṭh.</i>	ष्चैत्युम् <i>ṣ^ahaiṭhyum^u.</i>
67 सतचैट् <i>satahaiṭh.</i>	सतचैत्युम् <i>satahaiṭhyum^u.</i>
68 अरचैट् <i>arahaṭh.</i>	अरचैत्युम् <i>arahaṭhyum^u.</i>
69 कुनसतय् <i>kunasatāth.</i>	कुनसतत्युम् <i>kunasatatyum^u.</i>
70 सतय् <i>satāth.</i>	सतत्युम् <i>satatyum^u.</i>
71 अकसतय् <i>akasaatāth.</i>	अकसतत्युम् <i>akasaatatyum^u.</i>
72 दुसतय् <i>dusatāth.¹</i>	दुसतत्युम् <i>dusatatyum^u.</i>
73 त्रसतय् <i>tr^asatāth.</i>	त्रसतत्युम् <i>tr^asatatyum^u.</i>
74 त्रसतय् <i>tsōsatāth.</i>	त्रसतत्युम् <i>tsōsatatyum^u.</i>
75 पान्चसतय् <i>pāntśasatāth.</i>	पान्चसतत्युम् <i>pāntśasatatyum^u.</i>
76 षसतय् <i>ṣ^asatāth.</i>	षसतत्युम् <i>ṣ^asatatyum^u.</i>
77 सतसतय् <i>satasatāth.</i>	सतसतत्युम् <i>satasatatyum^u.</i>
78 अरसतय् <i>arasatāth.</i>	अरसतत्युम् <i>arasatatyum^u.</i>
79 कुनशीय् <i>kunaçīth.</i>	कुनशीत्युम् <i>kunaçītyum^u.</i>
80 शीय् <i>çīth.</i>	शीत्युम् <i>çītyum^u.</i>
81 अकशीय् <i>akaçīth.</i>	अकशीत्युम् <i>akaçītyum^u.</i>
82 द्वयशीय् <i>dōyaçīth.</i>	द्वयशीत्युम् <i>dōyaçītyum^u.</i>
83 त्रयशीय् <i>trēyaçīth.</i>	त्रयशीत्युम् <i>trēyaçītyum^u.</i>
84 चयशीय् <i>tsōyaçīth.</i>	चयशीत्युम् <i>tsōyaçītyum^u.</i>
85 पान्चशीय् <i>pāntśaçīth.</i>	पान्चशीत्युम् <i>pāntśaçītyum^u.</i>
86 षयशीय् <i>ṣayaçīth.</i>	षयशीत्युम् <i>ṣayaçītyum^u.</i>
87 सतशीय् <i>sataçīth.</i>	सतशीत्युम् <i>sataçītyum^u.</i>
88 अरशीय् <i>araçīth.</i>	अरशीत्युम् <i>araçītyum^u.</i>
89 कुननमय् <i>kunanamāth.</i>	कुननमत्युम् <i>kunanamatyum^u.</i>
90 नमय् <i>namāth.</i>	नमत्युम् <i>namatyum^u.</i>
91 अकनमय् <i>akanamāth.</i>	अकनमत्युम् <i>akanamatyum^u.</i>

¹ Not *दुसतय् tsōsatāth.*, as we might expect.

92 दुनमथ् <i>dunamāth</i> . ¹	दुनमत्युम् <i>dunamatyum</i> ^u .
93 त्रनमथ् <i>tr^anamāth</i> .	त्रनमत्युम् <i>tr^anamatyum</i> ^u .
94 त्सनमथ् <i>tsōnamāth</i> .	त्सनमत्युम् <i>tsōnamatyum</i> ^u .
95 पान्चनमथ् <i>pāntsanamāth</i> .	पान्चनमत्युम् <i>pāntsanamatyum</i> ^u .
96 षनमथ् <i>ṣ^anamāth</i> .	षनमत्युम् <i>ṣ^anamatyum</i> ^u .
97 सतनमथ् <i>satanamāth</i> .	सतनमत्युम् <i>satanamatyum</i> ^u .
98 अरनमथ् <i>aranamāth</i> .	अरनमत्युम् <i>aranamatyum</i> ^u .
99 नमानमथ् <i>namānamāth</i> .	नमानमत्युम् <i>namānamatyum</i> ^u .
100 हथ् <i>hāth</i> .	हत्युम् <i>hatyum</i> ^u .
101 अखहथ् त अख् <i>ākh hāth t^o ākh</i> , and so on.	अखहथ् त अख्युम् <i>ākh hāth t^o akyum</i> ^u and so on.
110 अखहथ् त दह् <i>ākh hāth t^o dah</i> , and so on.	अख हथ् त द्युम् <i>ākh hāth t^o dhyum</i> ^u . and so on.
200 झह् हथ् <i>z^oh hāth</i> .	झहत्युम् <i>duhatyum</i> ^u .
300 त्रिहथ् <i>trihāth</i> .	त्रहत्युम् <i>tr^ahatyum</i> ^u .
400 चोर हथ् <i>tsōr hāth</i> .	चहत्युम् <i>tsuhatyum</i> ^u .
500 पान्च् हथ् <i>pānt^s hāth</i> .	पान्चहत्युम् <i>pānt^sahatyum</i> ^u .
600 षहथ् <i>ṣahāth</i> .	षहत्युम् <i>ṣahatyum</i> ^u .
700 सथ् हथ् <i>sāth hāth</i> .	सतहत्युम् <i>satahatyum</i> ^u .
800 ऐठ हथ् <i>aiṭh hāth</i> .	ऐठहत्युम् <i>aiṭhahatyum</i> ^u .
900 नव शथ् <i>nav ṣāth</i> .	नवशत्युम् <i>navāṣatyum</i> ^u .
1000 सास् <i>sās</i> .	सास्युम् <i>sāsyum</i> ^u .
10000 अय्वथ् <i>ayōth</i> .	अय्वत्युम् <i>ayōtyum</i> ^u .
100000 लछ् <i>lāch</i> .	लछ्युम् <i>lāchyum</i> ^u .
1,000,000 प्रव्वथ् <i>prayōth</i> .	प्रव्वत्युम् <i>prayōtyum</i> ^u .
10,000,000 क़ोरर् <i>kōrōr</i> .	क़ोर्युम् <i>kōrōryum</i> ^u .

अख् *ākh* is one: अखाह् *akhāh*, or अखाह् खण्डा *akhāh khaṇḍā* means 'some one,' or 'about one,' (ii, iii. 38, 45).

¹ Not दूनमथ् *dōnamāth*, as we might expect.

अख् *ākḥ* is thus declined.

Nom.	अख् <i>ākḥ</i> .
Acc.	अकिस् <i>akis</i> .
Gen.	अक्युक् <i>akyuk</i> °, or अकि सन्द् <i>akⁱ sand</i> °.
Ag.	अकि <i>akⁱ</i> .

अखाह् *akhāh* is only used in the nominative (ii. iii. 38).

अकुय् *aku-y*, fem. अकूय् *ak^u-y*, is 'only one.' So also कुन् *kun*°, fem.

कुन् *kuñ*, means 'only one' (iv. 191).

ज्द् *z^h*, two, becomes द्व *dw* in all cases except the nom. pl., and is thus declined (ii. iii. 32, 33).

	Sg. (a pair).	Pl. (two).
Nom.	(जोर <i>jōr</i> °).	ज्द् <i>z^h</i> .
Acc.	(जोरस् <i>jōras</i>).	द्वन् <i>dwan</i> .
Ag.	(जोरन् <i>jōran</i>).	द्वयौ <i>dwayau</i> .
Instr.	द्वयि स्तित्तिन् <i>dwayi sṭitin</i> (जोर स्तित्तिन् <i>jōr^a sṭitin</i>).	द्वयौ स्तित्तिन् <i>dwayau sṭitin</i> .

जोराह् *jōrāh*, 'any pair,' 'some pair,' or 'about two,' is declined in the plural. Thus जोराहौ स्तित्तिन् *jōrāhau sṭitin* (ii. iii. 38). जोराह् खण्डा *jōrāh khaṇḍa*, means 'about two, but a little less' (ii. iii. 45). ज्य् *z^a-y*, means 'only two.'

There are two words signifying 'a pair,' (iv. 192). These are हर् *har*° (pl. हरि *harⁱ*) and जोर *jōr*° or जूरि *jūrⁱ*.

हर् *har*° is generally used of things without life; thus,—

अज्यहर् *ājy^hhar*°, a pair of ear pendants.

दूरहर् *dūr^ahar*°, a pair of ear rings.

वालहर् *wālⁱhar*°, a pair of rings (वोल *wōl*°).

पुलहर् *pul^ahar*°, a pair of grass sandals.

ख़ावह् *khāw^hhar^u*, a pair of wooden sandals.

अखह् *ākhhar^u*, one pair; जह् *z^hharⁱ*, two pairs;

त्रह् *trēhharⁱ*, three pairs.

In the villages we find the word हूरि *hūrⁱ*. Thus दाँदहूरि *dāḍahūrⁱ* a pair of bullocks. Here the word is used of a thing with life.

जोर *jōr^a* or जूरि *jūrⁱ* is used generally of things with life, but not always. Thus,—

मक्तजूरि *mōktajūrⁱ*, a pair of pearls.

दाँदजूरि *dāḍajūrⁱ*, a pair of bullocks.

कोतरजूरि *kōtanjūrⁱ*, a pair of pigeons (कोतुर *kōtur*, a pigeon).

गुरिजूरि *gurⁱjūrⁱ*, a pair of horses (गुर *gur^a*, a horse).

अखजोर *akhjōr^a*, one pair; जहजोर *z^hhjōr^a*, two pairs; त्रहजोर *trēhjōr^a*, three pairs.

Note that जोर *jōr^a* and जूरि *jūrⁱ* are not interchangeable.

त्रिह् *trih*, three, is thus declined (ii. iii. 34).

Nom. त्रिह् *trih*.

Acc. त्रिन् *tryan* (*trēn*).

Ag. त्रियो *trēyan*

The word तार *tār^a* is indefinite, and means 'about three.' त्रिय् *tri-y*, is 'only three' (ii. iii. 39).

'A group of three,' 'a trio,' is त्रिल *tril^a*, (masc.), or (iv. 192) त्रिच *trich^a* (fem.).

So also षह् *ṣah*, six (ii. iii. 34).

Nom. षह् *ṣah*.

Acc. षन् *ṣan*.

Ag. षयो *ṣayan*.

'About six' is षखह् *ṣakhāh*. 'Only six' is षय् *ṣa-y* (ii. iii. 42).

'A group of six' (iv. 192) षक *ṣak^a*. It is also षखह् *ṣakhāh*, and

षष्ठा खण्डा *ṣakhāḥ khaṇḍā* means 'a group of about six' (ii. iii. 42). The latter usually means a group of a little less than six.

चौर *tsōr*, four, is thus declined (ii. iii. 35).

Nom. चौर *tsōr*.

Acc. चौरन् *tsōran* or चन् *tsōn*.

Ag. चौरौ *tsōrau*.

चमर *tsōmar*, (ii. iii. 40), means 'about four,' and चौर्य *tsōra-y* is 'only four' (ii. iii. 40).

चाख *tsākḥ* means 'a group of four,' 'a four' (iv. 192). चाखा खण्डा *tsākḥāḥ khaṇḍā* means 'a group of about four, and चाखा खण्डा *tsākḥāḥ khaṇḍā* means 'a group of a little less than four' (ii. iii. 45).

This numeral in composition becomes च *tsō*. Thus (*vide post*) चशव्य *tsōçaway*, even the four; चदाह *tsōdāh*, fourteen; चुबुह *tsōwuh*, twenty-four, and so on.

The word for 'five' is पान्च् *pānts* or पान्च् *pānts*.

Nom. पान्च् *pānts*.

Acc. पान्चन् *pāntsan*.

Ag. पान्चौ *pāṇsau*.

'About five' is पैश् *paĩç*, and 'only five' is पान्च्य *pāntsa-y* (ii. iii. 41). पञ्च *pañç* means 'a group of five' (iv. 192). पञ्चा खण्डा *pañçāḥ khaṇḍā* means 'about five but a little less.'

For 'six,' see under 'three.'

The word for 'seven' is सय् *sāth*. It is thus declined—

Acc. सतन् *satan*.

Ag. सतौ *satau*.

'About seven' is सटै *saṭēth*. 'Only seven' is सत्य *sata-y* (ii. iii. 43).

सत् *sat* is a group of seven (iv. 192). सत्ता खण्डा *satvāḥ khaṇḍā* is 'about seven, but a little less.'

The declension and formation of the remaining numerals is regular.

'About' is signified by adding अमर *amar^a*, and 'only' by adding. अय् *ay* (ii. iii. 44).

Thus ऐठ् *aiṭh*, (acc. pl. ऐठन् *aiṭhan*); 'about eight,' ऐठमर *aiṭhamar^a*; 'only eight,' ऐठय् *aiṭha-y*. ऐठि *aiṭhⁱ*, is a group of eight (iv. 192).

अठि *ūṭhⁱ* (pl.) is groups of eight (e.g. four eights=thirty-two, चोर् अठि दयन् *tsōr ūṭhⁱ dōyat^{ra}h*).

नव् *nav*, nine; नवमर *navamar^a*, about nine; नवय् *nava-y*, only nine.

नम् *nam^a* is a group of nine (iv. 192). नम्वाह खण्डा *namwāh khaṇḍā* is a group of about nine, but a little less.

दह् *dah*, ten; दहमर *dahamar^a*, about ten; दहय् *daha-y*, only ten.

दह् *dah^a* is a group of ten (iv. 192), and दह्वाह खण्डा *dāhwāh khaṇḍā* is a group of about ten, but a little less.

हय् *hāth* is a hundred; हय्वाह खण्डा *hāthāh khaṇḍā* is a group of about a hundred, but a little less.

The word for 'fifty' is पन्चाह् *pantṣāh*, the प *pa* of which becomes व *wa* in composition (iii. 10). Thus, अक-वज्जाह् *aka-wanzāh*, fifty-one; द्व-वज्जाह् *dō-wanzāh*, fifty-two; कुन-वज्जाह् *kun^a-wanzāh*, forty-nine.

The word for 'sixty' is षेठ् *ṣeṭh* (iv, 176) or षैठ् *ṣaiṭh*, the ष् of both of which becomes ह् *h* in composition (iii. 11). Thus कुन-हैठ् *kun^a-haiṭh*, fifty-nine; द्व-हैठ् *dō-haiṭh*, sixty-two.

हय् *hāth*; this is the form which a hundred takes in composition up to and including eight hundred (iv. 115); thus

अखहय् *ākhhāth*, one hundred, जहहय् *z^ahhāth* two hundred, त्रिहय् *trihāth* (dropping ह् *h*), three hundred.

शय् *ṣāth*; this is the form which a hundred takes in composition after eight hundred (iv. 116); thus

नवशय् *navṣāth*, nine hundred; काहशय् *kāhṣāth*, eleven hundred; बाहशय् *bāhṣāth*, twelve hundred.

The following terms are peculiar to counting (iv. 174-177).

(a) टूँक *ṭūk*^u means two pice.

(b) हथ *hāth* means a pice, when more than two are referred to in counting. Thus, त्रिहथ *trihāth*, three pice; चौरहथ *tsōrhāth*, four pice; पाँचहथ *pāñṣ-hāth*, five pice. As in the case of numerals, हथ *hāth*, becomes शथ *śāth* from nine on. Thus;—नवशथ *navśāth*. Ten pice are also called सास् *sās*, lit. a thousand.

(c) जनि *zan*^u, this is the word used in counting persons. Thus जनि पंचाहमर *zanⁱ pañcāhmarā*, about fifty men. शेड् जनि *ṣeṭh zanⁱ*, sixty men.

(d) लूक् *lūk*^h. This word must be used in counting persons by hundreds or thousands. Thus हथ लूक् *hāth lūk^a*, a hundred people; जह्दहथ लूक् *z^ahhāth lūk^a*, two hundred persons; त्रिहथ लूक् *trihāth lūk^a* three hundred people. We also sometimes, however, but rarely, have हथ जनि *hāth zani*, a hundred people, सास् जनि *sās zani*, a thousand people, in both of which the *i* is fully pronounced.

When the emphatic य् *y* is added to numerals, we get the following forms—

दशवय् *dōṣawa-y*, or दनवय् *dōnawa-y* even both.

त्रयवय् *trēṣawa-y* or त्रयनवय् *tryanawa-y*, even all three.

चतुशवय् *tsōṣawa-y* or चतनवय् *tsōnawa-y*, even all four.

पाँचवय् *pāñṣawa-y*, even all five.

षशवय् *ṣaṣawa-y* or षनवय् *ṣanawa-y*, even all six.

सप्तवय् *satawa-y*, even the seven.

अष्टवय् *aṣṭhawa-y*, even the eight.

नववय् *nawa-wa-y* even the nine.

And so on.

The acc. is नववनी *navawani*. The agent is नववयि *nawawayⁱ*, and so for all, (iv. 186-188).

We may also say दशि दशवय् *dwaṣⁱ dōṣawa-y*; नवि नववय् *nawⁱ nawawa-y*, and so in all, repeating the first element, (iv. 189).

In multiplication, the numerals take special forms, as follows :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. अकि क्या नाम् <i>akⁱ kyā nām</i> . | 16. सुराहि <i>surāhⁱ</i> . |
| 2. द्वगनि <i>dōganⁱ</i> . | 17. सदाहि <i>sadāhⁱ</i> . |
| 3. त्रान <i>trān^a</i> . | 18. अरदाहि <i>aradāhⁱ</i> . |
| 4. चाख् <i>tsāk^h</i> . | 19. कुनबुहि <i>kunabuhⁱ</i> . |
| 5. पंझि <i>pañzⁱ</i> . | 20. बुहि <i>wuhⁱ</i> . |
| 6. षक <i>ṣak^a</i> . | 21. अकबुहि <i>akabuhⁱ</i> . |
| 7. सति <i>satⁱ</i> . | 30. त्रिह <i>tri^ahⁱ</i> . |
| 8. जठि <i>ūṭhⁱ</i> . | 31. अकत्रिह <i>akatr^ahⁱ</i> . |
| 9. नमि <i>namⁱ</i> . | 40. चतजिहि <i>tsatajihⁱ</i> . |
| 10. दाहि <i>da^h</i> . | 50. पन्वाहि <i>pant^ahⁱ</i> . |
| 11. काहि <i>kāhⁱ</i> . | 60. शीठि <i>ṣīṭhⁱ</i> . |
| 12. बाहि <i>bāhⁱ</i> . | 70. सतति <i>sat^atⁱ</i> . |
| 13. त्रुवाहि <i>truwāhⁱ</i> . | 80. शीति <i>ṣīṭhⁱ</i> . |
| 14. च्दाहि <i>tsōdāhⁱ</i> . | 90. नमति <i>namatⁱ</i> . |
| 15. पन्दाहि <i>pandāhⁱ</i> . | 100. हति <i>hatⁱ</i> . |

They are used as follows :—

अख् अकि क्या नाम् अख् *āk^h akⁱ kyā nām ākh*, one one (is) one.

ज्ज् अकि क्या नाम् ज्ज् *z^ah akⁱ kyā nām z^ah*, two ones (are) two.

त्रिह् द्वगनि षह् *trih dōganⁱ ṣah*, three twos (are) six.

सय् षक द्यतजिह् *sāṭh ṣak^a dōyatājih*, seven sixes (are) forty-two.

These special forms may be called multiplicative numerals. Multiplicatives above ten can only be used with numerals above ten. Thus काह् बाहि अख् हय् न द्यचह् *kāh bāhⁱ ākh hāṭh tō dōyat^ah*, eleven twelves (are), a hundred and thirty-two. We cannot say चोर बाहि अरताजिह् *tsōr bāhⁱ aratājih*, four twelves are forty-eight, because four is not greater than ten. We can only say बाह् चाख् अरताजिह् *bāh tsāk^h aratājih*, twelve fours (are) forty-eight.

G. Pronouns.

These change their bases in Declension. The following paradigms will give sufficient information.

बह् *bōh*, I.

Nom.	बह् <i>bōh</i> (ii. iii. 8).	असि <i>aśi</i> (15).
Acc.	म्य <i>mě</i> (8).	अस्य <i>aśē</i> (15).
Ag.	म्य <i>mě</i> (8, 9).	अस्य <i>aśē</i> (15).
Gen.	म्योन् <i>myōn</i> ^w (11).	सोन् <i>sōn</i> ^w (19).

Genitive Forms.

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

Masc.	म्योन् <i>myōn</i> ^w .	म्यानि <i>myān</i> ^t .
Fem.	म्याञ् <i>myāñ</i> .	म्याञ् <i>myāñē</i> .

Similarly for the Plural.

तह् *təh*, thou.

Nom.	तह् <i>təh</i> (ii. iii. 8).	तहि <i>twəh</i> ^t (15).
Acc.	अ <i>təē</i> (8).	तह्य <i>tōhē</i> (15).
Ag.	अ <i>təē</i> (8, 9).	तह्य <i>tōhē</i> (15).
Gen.	चोन् <i>cyōn</i> ^w (11).	तुहन् <i>tuhān</i> ^w (18).

Genitive Forms.

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

Masc.	चोन् <i>cyōn</i> ^w .	चानि <i>cyān</i> ^t .
Fem.	चाञ् <i>cyāñ</i> .	चाञ् <i>cyāñē</i> .

Similarly for the Plural.

तिह् *tih*, that (out of sight), he, she, it.

Nom. Masc. सुह् *suh* (ii. iii. 2); तिमस् *tim* (16).

fem. सह् *sōh*, or स *sa*

(3); neut. तिह् *tih* (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) तमिस् *tamīs* तिमन् *timan* (16).

(5); तस् *tas* (20); neut.

तथ् *tāth* (7).

Ag. (M. n.) तमि *tamī* (5); f. तिमौ *timau* (16).

तमि *tami*.

Gen. (M. f.) तमि सन्दु *tamī sandu* तिहन्दु *tihand^u*; तिमन् हन्दु *timan hand^u* (16, 20).

तस् *tas* (20); (n.) तम्युक

tamyuk^u.

This pronoun only refers to things not within sight. For things within sight ऊह् *huh* is used.

The neuter form agrees with all things without life, whether their grammatical gender is masculine or feminine. Thus तथ् पोथ्य परनस् कित् प्रह् *tāth pōthē paranas kyut^u pragg*, a couch for reading that book. So in the case of the other pronouns. The plural is the same for all three genders. So elsewhere.

यिह् *yih*, who.

Nom. Masc. युस् *yus* (ii. iii. 2); यिस् *yim* (16).

fem. यस्स *yōssa* (4);

neut. यिह् *yih* (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) यमिस् *yēmīs* यिमन् *yiman* (16).

(5); यस् *yas* (20),

neut. यथ् *yāth* (7).

Ag. (M. n.) यमि *yamī* (5); (f.) यिमौ *yimau* (16).

यमि *yami* (5).

- Gen. (M. f.) यमि सन्दु *yamī sandu*; यिहन्दु *yihand^u*; यिमन् हन्दु *yiman hand^u* (16, 20).
 (20); यस् *yas* (20); (n.)
 यम्युकु *yemyuk^u*.

क्याच् *kyāh*, who, what ?

- Nom. Masc. कुस् *kus* (ii. iii. 2); कस् *kam* (16).

fem. कास् *kōss^a* (4);

neut. क्याच् *kyāh* (1).

- Acc. (Masc. fem.) कमिस् (5); कमन् *kaman* (16).

कस् *kas* (20); (neut.)

कथ् *kāth* (7).

- Ag. (M. n.) कमि *kamī* (5); कसौ *kamau* (16).

(f.) कमि *kami* (5).

- Gen. (M. f.) कमि सन्दु *kamī sand^u*; कहन्दु *kahand^u*; कमन् हन्दु *kaman hand^u* (16, 20).
sand^u; कसन्दु *kasandu*;
 कस् *kas* (20); n. कम्युकु *kamyuk^u*.

इह् *yih*, this.

- Nom. Masc. इह् *yih* (ii. iii. 2); इम *yim* (16).

fem. इह् *yih* (3); neut.

इह् *yih* (1).

- Acc. (Masc. fem.) इमिस् *yimis* इमन् *yiman* (16).

(5); न्वमिस् *nōmis* (5);

neut. इथ् *yith* (7); न्वथ्

nōth (7).

Ag. (M. n.) इमि *yimⁱ* (5); इमौ *yimau* (16).

नमि *namⁱ* (5); (f.)

इमि *yimi* (5); नमि
nomi (5).

Gen. (M. f.) इमि सन्दु *yimⁱ sand^u*; इमौ सन्दु *yimau sand^u*; इमि सन्दु *yisand^u* *yiman hand^u* (16, 20).
(20); नमि सन्दु *namⁱ sand^u*; (n.) इम्युक् *yim-
yuk^u*; नम्युक् *namyuk^u*.

ऊह *huh*, that (within sight).

Nom. Masc. ऊह *huh* (ii. iii. 2); ऊम् *hum* (16).

fem. ऊह *hōh* (3);

neut. ऊह *huh* (1).

Acc. (Masc. fem.) ऊमिस् *humis* ऊमन् *human* (16).

(5); अमिस् *amis* (6);

neut. ऊथ् *huth* (7).

Ag. (M. n.) ऊमि *humⁱ* (5); ऊमौ *humau* (16).

अमि *amⁱ* (6); (f.)

ऊमि *humi* (5); अमि
ami (5).

Gen. (M. f.) ऊमि सन्दु *humⁱ sand^u*; ऊमौ सन्दु *humau sand^u*; ऊमि सन्दु *humⁱ sand^u*; ऊमि सन्दु *amⁱ sand^u* *human hand^u* (16, 20).

ऊसन्दु *husand^u*;

असन्दु *asand^u* (20);

(n.) ऊम्युक् *humyuk^u*;

अम्युक् *amyuk^u*.

This pronoun only refers to things within sight. For things out of sight, तिह *tih* is used.

The Reflexive Pronoun.

The word पान् *pān^a*, self, is declined only in the singular (ii. iii. 36). Its genitive is irregular (37). Thus,—

Nom.	पान् <i>pān^a</i> , self or selves.
Acc.	पानस् <i>pānas</i> , self or selves.
Gen.	पानुन् <i>panun^u</i> (fem. पानञ् <i>panañ</i>).
Ag.	पान् <i>pān^a</i> , by self or selves (NOT पानन् <i>pānan</i>).

[Example म्य पान् कश्च *mě pān^a karu-m* by me, myself, it was done].

The word पान् *pān*, meaning the human body is declined regularly in both numbers, like a noun of the first declension. Its genitive is hence पानुक् *pānuk^u* (ii. iii. 36, 37).

Pronominal adjectives (ii. iii. 25–27).

यत् <i>yūt^u</i> , this much.	Fem. यूच् <i>yūts^u</i> .
त्यूत् <i>tyūt^u</i> , that much.	त्यूच् <i>tyūts^u</i> .
य्यूत् <i>yyūt^u</i> , how much.	य्यूच् <i>yyūts^u</i> .
कूत् <i>kūt^u</i> , how much.	कूच् <i>kūts^u</i> .

The declension of these is given under the head of nouns, see p. 55.

Indefinite Pronouns.

काँच् *kāh* or कूँच् *kūh* or काँच् *kāts^hhāh* any one, some one, (m. and f.) (ii. iii. 29, 30, 31).

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	काँच् <i>kāh</i> काँच् <i>kāh</i> or काँच् <i>kāts^hhāh</i> .	केन्च् <i>kēnts</i> .
Acc.	कैसि <i>kaṣi</i> .	केन्चन् <i>kēntsān</i> .
Ag.	कैसि <i>kaisi</i> .	केन्चौ <i>kentsau</i> .

In the singular it is always declined like a feminine noun, even in the masculine.

कैच् *kēts^hhāh*, means 'any thing' (ii. iii. 31).

It is not declined.

H. Emphatic and Indefinite Particles.

(ii. iii. 21 ; iv. 126).

The particle *y* is added to all words to give emphasis. It may be added either to the main word or to the declensional or conjugational suffix. When added to a word ending in a consonant it becomes *ṡy*. Thus,—

तसन्द् ^१ य् <i>tasand^y</i> , even his,	from तसन्द् <i>tasand^u</i> , his.
तमि सन्द् ^१ य् <i>tamⁱ sand^y</i> , even his,	तमि सन्द् <i>tamⁱ sand^u</i> , his.
ग्वरस् ^१ अन्दर् <i>gōras^y andar</i> , even in the preceptor.	ग्वरस् अन्दर् <i>gōras andar</i> , in the preceptor.
ग्वरन् ^१ अन्दर् <i>gōran^y andar</i> , even in the preceptors.	ग्वरन् अन्दर् <i>gōran andar</i> in the preceptors.
ग्वरन् ^१ हन्दि पुक् ^१ <i>gōran^y handi put^{shy}</i> , even to the preceptors.	ग्वरन् हन्दि पुक् <i>gōran handi put^{shy}</i> to the preceptors.

or

ग्वरन् हन्दि^१य् पुक्^१ *gōran handi^y put^{shy}*

or

ग्वरन् हन्दि पुक्^१ *gōran handi put^{shy}*.*

गाटुलु ^१ य् <i>gāṡul^y</i> , certainly clever, from	गाटुल् <i>gāṡul^u</i> , clever.
करान् ^१ य् कुह् <i>karān^y chuh</i> , he is certainly doing.	करान् कुह् <i>karān chuh</i> , he is doing.
करीन् ^१ य् <i>karyōn^y</i> , he certainly did.	करीन् <i>karyōn</i> , he did.
करि ^१ य् <i>kari^y</i> , he will certainly do.	करि <i>kari</i> , he will do.
तिथ ^१ य् <i>tithay</i> , even in that manner.	तिथ <i>tith^u</i> in that manner.

The word सोर् *sōr^u*, all, always takes this suffix (ii. iii. 22).

Thus,—

Nom. sg. सोर^१य् *sōr^y* ; Nom. pl. सरि^१य् *sāri^y* ; instead of सोर् *sōr^u*
सरि *sārⁱ*, respectively.

* पुक्^१ *put^{shy}* is really another way of writing पुक्^१ *put^{sh}*.

When य् *y* is suffixed to the letter औ *au*, the two together become अव्य् *av̄y*, (ii. iii. 23).

Thus,—

गुर्यव्य् स्ततिन् *guryav̄y s̄tin*, by the horses certainly, from गुर्यौ स्ततिन् *guryau s̄tin*, by the horses.

नमव्य् स्ततिन् *namav̄y s̄tin*, even by the nails, from नमौ स्ततिन् *namau s̄tin*.

Indefiniteness is shown by adding आह् *āh* to a noun in the nom. sing. The termination cannot be added to other cases (ii. iii. 38).

कथाह् *kathāh*, any story, from कथ् *kāth*, a story; अखाह् *akhāh*, some one, any one, from अख् *ākḥ*, one; जोराह् *jōrāh*, some pair or other, from जोर *jōr*, a pair. The last may, however, be declined, thus जोराहौ स्ततिन् *jōrāhau s̄tin* by any pair.

When खण्डा *khaṇḍā* is added to these words, it indicates a slight diminution. Thus क्रुह् *kruh*, a *kōs*; क्रुहाह् *kruhāh*, about a *kōs*; क्रुहाह् खण्डा *kruhāh khaṇḍā*, about a *kōs*, but a little less; so द्वाहाह् खण्डा *dōhāh khaṇḍā*, about a day, but something less; ऋथाह् खण्डा *ṛathāh khaṇḍā*, about a season but something less; रुपयाह् खण्डा *rupayāh khaṇḍā*, about a rupee, but something less. The syllable आह् *āh* may be omitted, and then खण्ड् *khaṇḍ* not खण्डा *khaṇḍā* is used. Thus, क्रुह् खण्ड् *kruh khaṇḍ*, about a *kōs*, but a little less.

The suffix जू *z̄* added to a word signifies a group, or number. Thus, from कट् *kāṭh*, rams, कटजू *kāṭaz̄*, a number of rams; from गुरि *guri*, horses, गुरिजू *guriž̄*, a number of horses, a troop of horses; from रुपय *rupay*, rupees, रुपयजू *rupayēz̄*, a number of rupees; कञ् *kañē* stones, कञ्जजू *kañēz̄*, a heap of stones (ii. iii. 46).

The word पहान् *pahān* qualifies the word which it follows (iv. 193). Thus,—

बड़ पहान् *baḍ̄ pahān*, somewhat big.

बड़ पहान् *vyath̄ pahān*, somewhat stout.

बुष्ण पद्धान् *wuṣuṇ pahān*, somewhat hot.

दूर पद्धान् *dūr pahān*, somewhat distant.

न्यूर पद्धान् *nyūr pahān*, somewhat near.

ब्रौठ पद्धान् *brōṭh pahān*, somewhat in front.

पथ पद्धान् *pāth pahān*, somewhat behind.

चौरि पद्धान् *tsērⁱ pahān*, after some time (चैर *tsēr*, delay).

काश्मूर पद्धान् *kāçur^u pahān*, somewhat Kashmiri.

बंगालुक पद्धान् *baygāluk^u pahān*, somewhat Bengali.

बुड्युन्द पद्धान् *wuhuryund^u pahān*, somewhat in that direction.

यड्युन्द पद्धान् *yahuryund^u pahān*, somewhat in this direction.

The following conjunctions are given by Īçvara-kaula.

त *t^a*, and (iv. 178). *E.g.*, सुह त च्ह *suh t^a ts^h*, he and thou.

ति *ti*, also (iv. 179). It is also used instead of त *t^a* with plurals.

Thus,—सुह ति च्ह ति *suh ti ts^h ti*, he also, you also. सहनिवि ति गुपन् ति आय् *mahanivⁱ ti gupan ti āy*, both the men and the cattle came. We cannot say सहनिवि त गुपन् त आय् *mahanivⁱ t^a gupan t^a āy*.

बिय *biy^a*, means, 'again.' It also means 'other,' (iv. 180). Thus, बिय करिजि *biy^a karⁱzi*, you should do it again. बिय वनि *biya wati* by another road.

ज़न् *zan*, like (iv. 181). *E.g.*, तोत ज़न् चुह परान् *tōt^a zan chuh parān*, he reads like a parrot. मालिस् ज़न् चुह रछान् *mālīs zan chuh rachān*, he protects him as if he (the object) was his father.

छुहु *hyuh^u* (also written हिहु *hih^u*), fem. हिगू *hiç^u*, means 'like,' (iv. 182, 183). *E.g.*, मालिस् छुहु *mālīs hyuh^u*, like his father, (*e.g.*, this child is like his father). मोल् छुहु दुस् *mōl^u hyuh^u chu-s* (*s* is the dative pronominal suffix of the 3rd person), he is like a father to him. खन् छुहु दुह नोपान् *śon hyuh^u chuh nōpān*, it is shining like gold. We also have phrases like बुड् छुहु अनियन् *bud^u hyuh^u anⁱzyan*, bring whoever (amongst them) is old, ——— not, bring him like an old man.

I. On the Rhyming Repetition of words (*anuprāsa*).

Words of any kind are repeated to show indefiniteness or reciprocity. In such a case the letter व *w* or व *p* is usually substituted in the second word, for the first letter of the original word (viii. i. 30). Thus,

करान् वरान् कुह् *karān warān chuk*, he is doing it or nearly doing it.

द्यार् द्यार् अनिन् *dyār vyār anin*, let him bring the wealth, &c.

बत वत खयिन् *bat^a wat^a khyayin*, let him eat rice, &c.

अन्वार वन्वार *anwār wanwār* or अन्वार पन्वार *anwār panwār*, turn and turn about.

If the main word begins with प *p* or व *v* or *w*, the second begins with व *v* or *w* or प *p* respectively (viii. i. 31). Thus,—

पर वर *par war*, read (imperative), &c.

पैस वैस दितिन *paṛs^a waṛs^a ditiṇ*, let him give pice and the like.

वाँगन् पाँगन् अन् *wāḡan pāḡan an*, bring brinjals and other like vegetables.

वाज़ पाज़ बिह् *wāz^a pāz^a chih*, they are cooks, &c.

The word व्युत् (विचुत्) *vyuts^a*, a collection, makes व्युत् पोचुत् *vyuts^a pōts^a*, an omnium gatherum.

There are irregular formations, such as (viii. i. 32).

न्युक् (निकु) सुक् *nyuk^a suk^a*, a collection. न्युक् *nyuk^a* means literally 'a little.'

म्यंडु द्यंडु *myand^a tyand^a*, mouthfuls, &c.

हलु कलु *hal^a kal^a*, crooked, &c.; but

हलु वलु *hal^a wal^a*, girdles and the like.

हान्नु गान्नु *hānz^a gānz^a*, boatmen, &c.

फलु फयत् *phal^a phyat^a*, ornaments, &c.

ओत् वेत् *ōnt^a wōnt^a*, shallow and the like.

These compounds are feminine when they denote reciprocity. For examples, see p. 71.

J. Forms of address.

Instead of a formal vocative case, Kāṣmīrī uses a number of Interjections, each causing or not causing changes in the base of the noun with which they are used. The following is an abstract table showing the Interjections described by Īvara-kaula, in the *Sambuddhi-pāḍa* (ii. 2) of his grammar. As a rule, before interjectional suffixes, *u-mātrā* and *u-mātrā* are changed to *u* (or *y*).

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
2	हे हॆ.	Respectful. By man to man.	नारान् <i>nārān</i> (N. P.)	हे नारान् <i>hē nārān</i> .
	हे हॆ—जुव् <i>juv</i> (or a caste-word instead of <i>juv</i>).		गण कौल् <i>gaṇa-kaul</i> (N. P.)	हे नारान् जुव् <i>hē nārān juv</i> . हे गण कौल् <i>hē gaṇa-kaul</i> .
3	सॆ सॆ may be added after any of the above.	Ditto.		हे नारान् सॆ <i>hē nārān sē</i> . हे नारान् जुव् सॆ <i>hē nārān juv sē</i> . हे राम कौल् सॆ <i>hē rāma-kaul sē</i> .
4	हतसॆ <i>hataśāhē</i> may be substituted for हे हॆ.	Ditto.		हतसॆ नारान् जुव् <i>hataśāhē nārān juv</i> . हतसॆ राम कौल् <i>hataśāhē rāma-kaul</i> . हतसॆ नारान् जुव् सॆ <i>hataśāhē nārān juv sē</i> .

5	Or वसति <i>hasāhē</i> . With these, if neither जुव <i>juv</i> nor any caste- word is used, then सो <i>sā</i> must be added. हे <i>hē</i> —बा <i>bā</i> used without जुव <i>juv</i> or caste-word.	In addressing a priest, a person of the mid- dle class, or a ser- vant.	नारान् <i>nārān</i> .	वसति राम कौल सो <i>hasāhē rām^a- kaul sā</i> . वसति नारान् जुव <i>hasāhē nārān juv</i> . वसति गण सो. <i>hasāhē gaṇ^a sā</i> . हे नारान् बा <i>hē nārān bā</i> .
6	वसति <i>hasāhē</i> or वसति <i>hatabāhē</i> . —बा <i>ā</i> added either to the bare name or to the caste-word. Or preceded by वता <i>hatā</i> .	If the above are old. In addressing male juniors or inferiors.	सहज <i>sahaz^a</i> (N. P.) जन <i>zan^a</i> (N. P.)	वसति सहज बा <i>hasāhē saha^az bā</i> . वसति जन बा <i>hasāhē zan^a bā</i> . नाराना <i>nārānā</i> . नारान् जुवा <i>nārān juvā</i> . वता माना <i>hatā mānā</i> . वता मान कौला <i>hatā mān^a-kaulā</i> . वता गुल्या <i>hatā gulyā</i> (note the change of ^a to <i>y</i>). वा नारानो <i>hā nārānō</i> .
8		Ditto.	माने <i>mān^a</i> (N. P.) मान कौल <i>mān^a-kaul</i> . गुल <i>gul^a</i> (N. P.)	
9	वा <i>hā</i> —सो <i>ō</i> .	In addressing a per- son at a distance, or in sorrow,	काक् <i>kāḥk</i> , a father.	

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
10	हतो <i>hatō</i> may be substituted for ह, <i>hā</i> .	In addressing a person at a distance, or in sorrow.	पर <i>par</i> (N. P.)	हतो परी <i>hatō paryō</i> (note vowel change).
11	—माजू <i>mājū</i> added to the bare name.	When a man addresses an elder woman.	पर्वत <i>pārvat</i> (N. P.)	पर्वत माजू <i>pārvat mājū</i> .
12	बिजू <i>biñ</i> .	When she is moderate in age, or of an age equal to that of the speaker.		पर्वत बिजू <i>pārvat biñ</i> .
13	हतमाजू <i>hatamājū</i> or हतबिजू <i>hatabiñ</i> may precede.	As in the two last.	सरस्वत <i>sarasvat</i> (N. P.)	हतमाजू पर्वत माजू <i>hatamājū pārvat mājū</i> . हतबिजू सरस्वत बिजू <i>hatabiñ sarasvat biñ</i> . हतबिजू पर्वत माजू <i>hatabiñ pārvat mājū</i> .

14 } 15 }	हय् <i>hāy</i> —य् <i>y</i> . हतय् <i>hatay</i> —य् <i>y</i> . हताय् <i>hatāy</i> —य् <i>y</i> .	In addressing female juniors or inferiors.	वङ्क् <i>wəṅks</i> , <i>or</i> ^{१४} child.	हय् वङ्करिन् <i>hāy wəṅks hariy</i> (note change of vowel). हतय् वङ्करिन् <i>hatay wəṅks hariy</i> . हताय् वङ्करिन् <i>hatāy wəṅks hariy</i> .
16 } 18 } 25 }	हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —बा <i>bā</i> .	When a woman addresses a man or woman respectfully. More especially in addressing a priest.	हिमत् <i>himat</i> (N. P.)	हतबा हिमत् बा <i>hatabā himat bā</i> .
17 } 18 } 25 }	हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —औ <i>au</i> . हतौ <i>hatau</i> —औ <i>au</i> .	Ditto, in addressing familiars or juniors (male or female).		हतबा काकौ <i>hatabā kākau</i> . हतौ काकौ <i>hatau kākau</i> . हतौ हिमत् कौलौ <i>hatau himat kōlau</i> .
19 } 25 }	हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —अ <i>a</i> . हतौ <i>hatau</i> —अ <i>a</i> .	Ditto.	काक् <i>kāḱ</i> , a father. गण <i>gaṇ</i> ^a , (N. P.)	हतबा काक <i>hatabā kāk</i> ^a . हतौ गण <i>hatau gaṇ</i> ^a .
20 } 25 }	हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —अय् बाय् <i>a</i> <i>bāy</i> ^a . हतबा <i>hatabā</i> —अय् बायौ <i>a</i> <i>bāyau</i> . हतौ <i>hatau</i> —अय्	Used by women in addressing men or women by their proper names only,	महादेव् <i>mahādēv</i> (N. P.)	हतबा महादेव बाय <i>hatabā mahādēv^a bāy^a</i> . हतबा महादेव बायौ <i>hatabā mahādēv^a bāyau</i> .

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
21 } 25 }	बायौ a <i>bāyau</i> . हतौव् <i>hatōv</i> —बौ <i>au</i> .	we cannot say हतबा काक बाय <i>katabā</i> <i>kāk° bāy°</i> , O father. Used by women in addressing a man or woman at a dis- tance. Also by Musalmān women in address- ing their husbands. Not by Brāhmaṇī women, who only use the following. Used by a Brāhmaṇī women when ad- dressing her hus- band, when she is	सनसा रास् <i>manasā nām</i> (N. P.)	हतौ महादेव बायौ <i>hatau mahādēv°</i> <i>bāyau</i> . हतौव् मनसा रासौ <i>hatōv manasā rāmau</i>
22			कादिर <i>kādir</i> .	हतौव् कादिरौ <i>hatōv kādirau</i> .
23				
24	हत <i>hat°</i> .			हत <i>hat°</i> .

26*	आहन् <i>āhan</i> .	alone, with him, and she is near by. She does not mention his name. Merely uses the interjection. May be prefixed to any of the foregoing to signify concurrence, 'yes.'	आहसो <i>āhasā</i> . आहवा <i>āhanbā</i> . आहनी <i>āhanō</i> . आहन् मज्जु <i>āhan mājū</i> . आहन् बिज् <i>āhan biñ</i> . आहनिन् <i>āhanig</i> . आहनू <i>āhanū</i> . आहनुन् <i>āhanur</i> .
27	ह <i>ha</i> .	Used affirmatively with verbs, with the above.	आहसो करान् <i>āhasā karān</i> <i>hasā chah</i> , yes, Sir, he is doing.
28			आहसो करन् <i>āhasā karu-n</i> <i>hasā</i> ,
30			yes, Sir, he did do.

Ref. to No. of Sūtra.	Interjection.	How used.	Word.	Form of address.
29	न na.	Similarly used as a negative.		<p>आहन्वी वत हसी कुह रनान् āhansā bat° <i>hasā chuh rnanā</i>, yes, Sir, he is cooking rice.</p> <p>नवा करान् नवा कुह nabā karān nabā <i>chuh</i>, no, Sir, he is not doing.</p> <p>आहन्वी नारान् हसी कुह पूय परान् <i>āhansā nārān hasā chuh pūth parān</i> yes, Sir, Nārāyaṇa is reading the book.</p> <p>आहन्वा राम हवा कुस् न्यन्त्र करान् <i>āhanbā Rām° habā chu-s nēndar</i> <i>karān</i>, yes, Sir, Rāma is having his sleep.</p>

Two Copper-plate Grants of Ratnapāla of Prāgyōtiṣa in Āsām.—By

DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E.

(With Plates VIII–XIII).

[Read January, 1898.]

These two grants were also sent to me by Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., one in May 1896, the other in April 1897.¹ The former was found in Suālkucī. About the find-place of the latter, nothing is known. It is now in the possession of a cultivator of Nāhorhābi village, Mauza Bargāō, District Darrang, Subdivision Tējpur, who says that it was discovered by his grandfather. As it is convenient to give it a name, and as Tējpur is already appropriated by another Āsām grant, published in this *Journal*, Vol. IX, it may be called the Bargāon copper-plate.

The Suālkucī grant unfortunately is in a very bad condition as will be described hereafter. Without the Bargāon grant, with which most of its contents are identical, it would have been impossible to make any thing satisfactory of it. The Bargāon grant is in an almost perfect condition, and hence I will describe it first.

I. THE BARGĀON GRANT.

This grant and its seal are just like the Gauhaṭi grant of Indrapāla. This will be seen from the photograph (Plates VIII–X), so that I need not repeat their description. The plates, of which there are three, measure $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The seal measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The two outside plates are only inscribed on their inner sides. The interior plate has 20 lines on each side; the other two inscribed sides have 17 and 15 lines respectively.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. It differs from other grants, in giving a portion of the genealogy of the donor in prose. The earlier part of the genealogy, referring to Ratnapāla's ancestry, is in poetry, *viz.*, from the beginning down to line 28. From here the

¹ See my papers on the previous Gauhaṭi and Nowgong Grants, in this *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 113, 285.

description of Ratnapāla's residence and person is in prose, down to line 52. The remainder is as usual: namely the description of the land, its perquisites and boundaries is in prose, *viz.*, from line 52 down line 58, and lines 58 to 64; but the genealogy of the donee is in verse, from lines 65 to 72.

The composition is very laboured; and the fact that about one-half of the royal genealogy is in prose suggests that the writer's literary powers were not equal to the task of versifying the whole.

The mechanical execution of the grant is very slovenly and inaccurate; it is, in this respect, even worse than that of the Gauhaṭi grant. Syllables are frequently omitted; thus l. 1, *duṣṭē* for *nirduṣṭair* (?); l. 13, *kṣi* for *kṣiti*; l. 15, *khim* for *kṣitim*; l. 52, *Ratnapā* for *Ratnapāla*, etc. Similarly letters are omitted: *e.g.*, l. 11, *anaya* for *anayad*; l. 22, *anurāgā* for *anurāgāj*. Occasionally superfluous syllables are inserted; *e.g.*, l. 2, *anēkīnēbhavan* for *anēkī-bhavan*; l. 8, *kuṇḍalēna* for *kuṇḍalē*. Similarly a superfluous *l* is added in l. 14, *jayal-labdha* for *jaya-labdha*, l. 45, *udbhāsanal-lāṣṭh*, etc. Anusvāra and visarga are very frequently omitted; see the footnotes 4, 15, 18, etc. Long and short vowels are frequently interchanged; *e.g.*, l. 3, *tāt* for *tat*; l. 6, *grīyam* for *griyam*, etc. For other miscellaneous blunders, see footnotes 6, 12, 43, 49, 57, 67, etc. A curiosity is the euphonic insertion of *r* in l. 11, *nu-r-īha*; and there is another instance in the Suālkucī grant, in l. 21, *mārttaṇḍu-r-iva*.

The usual provincialisms abound; for confusion of sibilants, see footnotes 16, 31, 34, 69, 85, 89, 91, etc.; for the ligature of guttural *y* with sibilants, see footnotes 34, 36, 42, etc.; for the ligature of dental *n* with gutturals and sibilants see footnotes 16, 18, 28, 29, etc.; for the ligature of *m* with *v*, see footnotes 13, 44, 65, 67, etc.

The last mentioned ligature is really explained by the fact that no separate sign for *b* is used in all these Āsām grants. And this fact, again, is explained by the circumstance that in Bangālī and Āsāmi no distinction is made, in pronunciation, between non-conjunct *v* and *b*; both are pronounced alike as *b*. There are other indications of a more sporadic occurrence of what may be called "phonetic spelling." They are curious, as showing how far back such fashions of pronunciation may be traced. In modern Bangālī and Āsāmi *kṣ* is pronounced *kh*. Hence we find in l. 15 *khim* (false for *khitim*) spelled for *kṣitim*, and in l. 17, *vikhya* for *vikṣya*. Similarly non-conjunct initial *y* is now pronounced *j*, and conjunct *y* is omitted. An instance of the former practice occurs in l. 21, *jā* for *yā*, l. 35, *jakṣmaṇā* for *yakṣmaṇā*, also in the Gauhaṭi grant II a¹ *jaṣās* for *yaṣās*. An instance of the latter practice occurs in the Nowgong grant in III a⁶ *Ḍamāyikā*, the correct

spelling of which name *Qyāmāyikā* occurs in the Bargāon grant l. 61. Possibly the curious spelling in l. 18 *yuyyatē* for *yuyjatē* may be due to a similar cause; so also the form *ya* in l. 50, for *ca*; though these would rather be survivals of an old prākritic fashion which has not survived to the present day.

Palæographically it may be noted that the avagraha occurs only four times, in ll. 26, 58, 59, 63, though there were sixteen other occasions for its use.

An *r* preceding a consonant is always formed above the line, even with *y*; e.g., l. 21, *āgcaryam*.

The guttural nasal *ṅ* is, as in the Nowgong grant, throughout made without a ringlet; see ll. 3, 4, 14, 15, 17, 27, 33, 35, 41, 43, 60. The initial short *i* is also made exactly as in the Nowgong grant by means of two ringlets placed above a hook; e.g., in l. 35, *Tāika*; ll. 8 and 45, *iva*; l. 24, *iti*. Also *kh* and *r* are made after the older fashion. All this shows that the Bargāon grant cannot be very far apart, in age, from the Nowgong grant.

The anusvāra, in the Bargāon grant as well as in the Nowgong grant, is formed by a ringlet, placed (in the usual way) above the line. In the Gauhaṭī grant it is occasionally placed on the line.² In modern Bangālī the latter position is universal. This shows that the Gauhaṭī grant must be appreciably later than the Bargāon and Nowgong grants.

The virāma occurs twice to indicate a final consonant in l. 23, *samyak*, with the full form of *k*, and in l. 23, *mandam* with a slightly truncated form of *m*. In both cases it is attached to the foot of the letter. In the case of final *t*, *n* and *m* specially modified forms are used; thus the final form of *t* occurs in l. 5, *jagat*, l. 7, *akārṣīt*, and l. 63, *ghāt*. The final form of *n* occurs in l. 54, *jānapadān* and l. 55, *prabhṛtīn* and *sarvān*. The final form of *m* occurs in l. 2, *tāṇḍavīm*, l. 16, *rājyam*, l. 32, *maṇḍalam*, l. 33, *alaykūram*, l. 39, *sārthānām*, l. 48, *gumbhīryam* and *vīryam*, l. 65 *ātmanam* and *ālyām*, ll. 69 and 72, *ālyām*.

As these final forms, as well as the forms of the guttural nasal, anusvāra and *r*, are peculiarly serviceable as test-letters in determining the chronology of the Bangālī-Āsāmī script, I have, in the accompanying lithographed table of facsimiles (Plate XI), prepared a small conspectus of them. The reigns I have selected are the following:

- (a) Pāla kings of Bengal (Bihār): DHARMAPĀLA, c. 840–875 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. LXIII, Plate III. NĀRĀYAṆA PĀLA, c. 925–950 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. XLVII, Plates XXIV, XXV;

² The ringlet is so small that the blank core is sometimes almost invisible in the photograph, producing the appearance of a mere dot.

also facsimile of Badal inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 160.

- (b) Āsām kings : BALAVARMA, c. 975 A.D., facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. LXVI, Plates XXXV and XXXVI. Ratnapāla, c. 1010, facsimile of his grant in this volume, Plates VIII-X, XII and XIII. INDRAPĀLA, c. 1050, facsimile of his grant, in this *Journal*, LXVI, Plates III and IV. VAIDYĀDĒVA, c. 1142, facsimile of his grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, Plates I-III, p. 351.
- (c) Sēna kings of Bengal (Bihār) ; VIJAYA SĒNA, c. 1080 A.D., facsimile of his grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 308. LAKṢMAṆA SĒNA, c. 1126, facsimile of his grant in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIV, Plates I and II.

The table sufficiently explains itself ; but I may point out that the special final forms of *t* and *n* have arisen from the practice of attaching the virāma to the top of the full or truncated forms, instead of appending it, in the usual fashion, to their foot ; and that the special final form of *m* owes its origin to the contraction of the original square *m* into a small circle, to which the virāma was appended as a tail. Later on, this tail was separated, and thus the forms of *m* and the anusvāra become identical (No. 8 in columns 5 and 15), because in the meantime the anusvāra had assumed a tendency of standing below instead of above the head-line (No. 5, col. 5). At one time the forms of the truncated *n* and special final *m* approached so nearly as to lead to a confusion of them (compare No. 1, col. 12 with col. 15). Thus final *n* is used for final *m* twice in the Nowgong grant, see I *b*² *amalan* for *amalam*, II *a*⁷ *yauvanan* for *yauvanam*. An earlier instance occurs in the Dharmapāla grant, line 57, *vasundharan* for *vasundharam*⁸ ; other instances are in the Lakṣmaṇa Sēna grant, Plate I, obverse, line 21, *layan* for *layam* ; Plate II, reverse, line 21, *mantavyan* for *mantavyam*, line 22 *pālanīyan* for *pālanīyam*.

On palæographical grounds, therefore, I am disposed to place the two Ratnapāla grants in the earlier half of the 11th century A.D. (c. 1010-1050). The Nowgong grant I would place a little earlier, about 990 A.D., and the Indrapāla grant, a little later, about 1060 A.D. The Bargāon grant is not dated in any era ; neither is the Suālkuci grant ; but the former professes to have been issued in the 25th, and the latter in the 26th year of the reign of Ratnapāla.

Putting together the information given by the Bargāon grant with that afforded by the Tējpur, Nowgong, and Gauhaṭi grants, it now

⁸ See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 250.

becomes possible to arrange a fairly connected dynastic history of Āsām. All the grants agree in beginning with Hari (Viṣṇu), his son Naraka, his son Bhagadatta, his younger brother Vajradatta. They further agree⁴ in stating that Vajradatta was succeeded by several members of his dynasty, after which Naraka's dynasty was displaced by Çāla Stambha, described in the Bargāon grant as a *Mlēccha*⁵ or 'foreign' conqueror. According to that grant, Çāla Stambha was succeeded by twenty other foreign kings, of whom Vighraha Stambha was the first, and Tyāga Simha the last; and the grant adds that after Tyāga Simha the ancient dynasty of Naraka was restored in the person of Brahma Pāla. Unfortunately the Tējpur grant is unsatisfactorily recorded in volume IX of this *Journal*, both with respect to the original text and its English translation. But this much seems to be clearly stated in it that a series of rulers, commencing with Çāla Stambha, ended with Çri-Hariṣa, after which a king called Pralambha of Naraka's race succeeded to the throne. On the first view this would seem to show that Tyāga Simha and Çri-Hariṣa were the same persons, and so also Brahma Pāla and Pralambha. The latter identification, of course, is impossible, because Brahma Pāla and Pralambha gave rise to two distinct dynasties, as the Bargāon and Nowgong grants show. But it is still possible that these two dynasties might have ruled contemporaneously, in different parts of the country, on Çāla Stambha's dynasty becoming extinct with Tyāga Simha *alias* Çri-Hariṣa. This supposition would seem to derive some confirmation from the fact that the Bargāon and Gauhaṭi grants are given from the town of *Durjayā*, *alias* Prāgjyōtiṣa, while the Nowgong grant is given from the "ancestral camp" of Hārūppēçvara. Against this, however, is to be set the fact that Bala Varman (of the Nowgong grant) of the Harjara or Pralambha dynasty is also described on his seal as belonging to the dynasty of the kings of Prāgjyōtiṣa, so that Prāgjyōtiṣa would seem to have been the capital of his country, though he usually or occasionally resided in his "ancestral camp" Hārūppēçvara. But the circumstance which most strongly makes against the identification of Tyāga Simha with Çri-Hariṣa, is the palæography of the Nowgong grant. The author of that grant, Bala Varman, is the fourth in descent from Harjara, and the fifth in descent from Pralambha, *i.e.*, about 100 years after the commencement of his dynasty, while Ratna Pāla, the author of the Bargāon grant, is first in descent from Brahmapāla, *i.e.*, perhaps 20

⁴ Except the Gauhaṭi grant, which, however, allows an "undefined period."

⁵ The term *Mlēccha* indicates a Non-Hindū, though the name Çāla Stambha has a distinctly Hindu (Sanskrit) ring; so have the other names of his dynasty. They may be *biru*^a *das* or laudatory names.

years after the beginning of his dynasty. It follows, therefore, that Bala Varman comes about 80 years after Ratna Pāla, and that palæographically the Nowgong grant should be later than the Bargāon grant. Their palæographic characters, however, indicate just the reverse. The identification of Tyāga Siṃha with Çri-Hariṣa, therefore, seems to me very doubtful; nor does it appear that there is any necessity for it. A more probable solution appears to me to be, that Çāla Stambha's dynasty ended with Çri-Hariṣa, and that it was succeeded by another foreign dynasty, which commenced with Pralambha and ended with Tyāga Siṃha, after whom the restoration of Naraka's dynasty, in the person of Brahma Pāla, took place. The Bargāon grant does not say that the 20 kings who followed Çāla Stambha were all of the same dynasty; on the other hand, twenty-one (including Çāla Stambha) is a sufficiently large number to accommodate two long dynasties. Moreover the Nowgong grant clearly indicates that a break or change of dynasty took place with Harjara (son of Pralambha).

Of Çāla Stambha's dynasty three other members are named: according to the Bargāon grant, Vighraha Stambha was the immediate successor (son?) of Çāla Stambha; and according to the Nowgong grant, there were two other members, named Pālaka and Vijaya, besides some more not named. It would seem that *Stambha* was the distinguishing name of this dynasty. The named members of it would be (1) Çāla Stambha, (2) Vighraha-Stambha, (3) Pālaka-Stambha, (4) Vijaya-Stambha, who were perhaps the first four of the dynasty; there were several others; the total number may have been ten, occupying a period from about 150 to 200 years.

Of Pralambha's dynasty, five other members, in direct filial succession, are named. According to the Tējpur grant, it would seem that Pralambha's son, by his wife Jivadā, was Harjara, whose son was Vanamāla. The Nowgong grant adds Jayamāla, Virabāhu and Bala Varman, being the son, grandson and great-grandson respectively of Vanamāla. These are the first six members of the dynasty. Their total number may well have been eleven, occupying again a period of about 150 to 200 years. And these eleven, together with the ten of the Çāla Stambha dynasty, would make up the series of twenty-one foreign kings, required by the Bargāon grant, antecedent to the restoration of the Pāla kings of Naraka's dynasty. There are two difficulties about this dynasty. The Tējpur grant seems to say distinctly that Pralambha belonged to Naraka's dynasty,⁶ and that

⁶ In verse 19 of the translation, Vanamāla, the son of Harjara, is also said to be "like the moon in the clear sky of the Naraka line." The original text has *kṣīti-tanaya-nṛpati-varṇa* or 'the royal race of the son of the Earth.' Naraka is the "son of the Earth."

he was the father of Harjara. On the other hand, the Nowgong grant ignores Pralambha altogether, and commences the dynasty with Harjara. Nor is there any thing in the latter grant to connect him with Naraka's dynasty; on the contrary the non-Hindū sound of the name Harjara points to a foreigner. I am unable to suggest any satisfactory solution; but the weight of the evidence seems to me to be for both dynasties (Çāla Stambha's and Harjara's or Pralambha's) being those of foreign invaders, though they may have occasionally preferred a claim to belong to the ancient indigenous line of kings.

The Pāla dynasty distinctly put forward that claim in both the Bargāon and Gauhaṭī grants; though it may still remain a question whether the claim was well founded. I may here notice a correction. In the Gauhaṭī grant, Plate I, reverse, line 13, the puzzling name *Kaumra* should be *Bhauma* or 'Earth-born,' a name of Naraka. I may also notice, that the Bargāon grant distinctly states that Durjayā, which the Nowgong grant describes as a *nagarī* or 'townlet' and as the *vasati* or 'residence' of the king, received that name from Ratnapāla, who either founded it or made it into a fortified place, and fixed it as the residence of his dynasty. The fact that the Pāla kings resided in the fort of Durjayā, and the Harjara dynasty in the "ancestral camp" of Hārūpṣṇvara, while yet both dynasties called themselves "Lords of Prāgjyōtiṣa," may perhaps justify the conclusion that in their time Prāgjyōtiṣa, which was originally the name of a town, had become the name of a country.

Of Ratnapāla it is related that he came into hostile contact with the kings of Gurjara, Gaṇḍa, Kērala, and the Dekkan, and with the Bāhikas and Tāikas. Assuming that Ratnapāla's age has been rightly fixed at about 1010 to 1050 A.D., the king of Gurjara of that period would be the Western Cālukyan king Jayasīṃha III or Sōmāṣvara I. By the Kērala king the Cōla Rājarāja is perhaps intended. The Gaṇḍa king may have been Mahipāla or Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār. To whom the term "king of Dakṣiṇāṭya" or the Dekkan may refer, I do not know. The Bāhikas and Tāikas are generally taken to be Trans-Indus people, those of Balḥ and the Tajiks. But, as will be seen from the next paragraph, the panegyrist probably only wished to parade his familiarity with Sanskrit literature, and further attempts at identification would be waste of labour.

There is again a curiosity to be noted in the Ratnapāla grants, similar to that in the Nowgong grant (see *ante*, Vol. LXVI, p. 288), the discovery of which is due to Dr. Th. Bloch, the Society's Honorary Philological Secretary. This is the existence of plagiarisms, or at least imitations, from Bāṇa's Harṣa Carita. The following passages,

or clauses, may be compared, the references being to Tukaram Javaji's Bombay edition of 1892 (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press).

- (1). Bargāon Plate, line 34, *Gurjjar-ādhirāja-prajvārēṇa*, etc. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 132, *Hūṇa-hariṇa-kēsari Sindhu-rāja jvarō Gurjara-prajāgarō Gāndhār-ādhipa - gandha - doipa - kūṭa - pākalo Lāṭa-pātava-pāṭaccarō Mālava-lakṣmī-latā-paraṇuḥ*.
- (2). Bargāon Plate, line 43, *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparadhini*. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 104, *Vāsav-āvāsa iva (adhivāsaḥ)*.
- (3). Bargāon Plate, line 48, *Arjjuṇō yaçasi Bhīmasenō yudhi* (or Suālkuci Plate, l. 24, *Bhīsmō dhanuṣi*), &c. Compare Harṣa Carita, p. 110, *Arjjuṇō yaçasi Bhīsmō dhanuṣi*, etc.

Finally, I may add three corrections in the Gauhaṭi grant. The blundered phrase *bhūmya-pakṣa-ṣṭa* in II b⁶ should be *bhūmy-apakṣṣṭa*, as in the Bargāon grant l. 53; it means the 'inferior or non-arable land.' Also *vyāvahārika* in II b⁷ means 'officer': the whole passage in which it occurs should be translated as in the Bargāon grant. Again the phrase *mahiṣi-jātika* should be read, as in the Suālkuci grant, *mahiṣ-āj-āvika* 'buffalos, goats and sheep.'

TEXT.¹

First Plate : Reverse.

- 1 Svasti | ² Duṣṭē ³ vapu-vimv(b)akair=n=nakha=gatai⁴ svai⁵=n=nṛtya-sampad-vidhēḥ sō sa-çvēva⁶-gatim çubhām prakatayan=dṛçyō 'ni-
- 2 çan=tāṇḍavim | ēvam yaḥ paramātma-vat=prthu-guṇ-ōddēhō⁷ 'py=anēki-nē⁸-bhavan=prākāmyan=dadhād-ēva bhāti bhuvan-ē-
- 3 ças=tāt⁹=çriyē Çan karaḥ || [1 n] Mūrttā kim vahat=iha¹⁰ çita-kara-ru kim¹² sphātiki-vidrutih kim¹³=v=ādy-augha-vibhēdan-ai-
- 4 ka-niratā çakti⁴ çubhā Çan kari | yasy=āpāṇ-gatim=ity=avētya janatā yāyēta dhanyā drutaṁ pāyāt=sa prañiha-

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre of verses 1 and 2: *Qārdūla-vikrīḍita*.

³ One akṣara is here omitted; perhaps read *nirduṣṭair*.

⁴ Read *gataiḥ*; l. 4, *çaktiḥ*; l. 5, *ākrtēḥ*; l. 10, *çriḥ* and *guṇaḥ*; l. 12, *yaçah*; l. 13, *ātmajaḥ* and *ripuḥ*; l. 14, *kūrttiḥ*.

⁵ Read *svair*.

⁶ Read *çvēta*. See note to translation.

⁷ *Uddēha* is not noted in any dictionary.

⁸ Read *anēki-bhavan*; *nē* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *tat-çriyē* or rather *tac-çriyē*.

¹⁰ Read *iha*, m. c. (i.e., *vahati iha*).

¹² Read *kara-ruḥ=kim*.

¹³ Read *kim vā*.

- 5 *tya sarvva-kaluṣaṁ lauhitya-sindhur=jagat* || [2 ||] ¹⁴ *Dharām Harēr=*
uddharataḥ kir-ākṛtē ⁴ *payōdhi-magnā Nārakō* ¹⁵ *'sur-ānsa-*
6 *ka* ¹⁶ || *sa sūnur-āçit* ¹⁷ *=sura-yōsid-anginī* ¹⁸ *çriyam* ¹⁹ *=pratindūyitam* ²⁰
=ēva yēna hi || [3 ||] *Yaç* ²¹ *=c=āval=ēti jarat=iti bhiyā-yut=ē-*
7 *ti mūdḥ=ēti v(b)andhu-rabit=ēti vipad-gat=ēti* | *hitv=Āditis* × ²² *vaji-*
tya surān=ahārṣit tat-ku-
8 *ṇḍalēna* ²³ *sura-yaçō-mahaçi iv=āgryē* | [4 ||] *Kāntā-mukhair=*
v=v(b)ahu-vidhāv ²⁴ *=iva vira-vṛṇḍais=tējasvibhī*
9 *ravi-gaṇān=iva sandadhānē* | *Prāgyōtisē* ²⁵ *'vasad=asau pravare*
purāṇām dōr-dappa ²⁶ *-samcarāṇa-*
10 *cārutar-ārjjita-çri* ⁴ || [5 ||] *Yuddhē purātana it=iddha-guṇa* ⁴ *pit=*
ēti yāvad=vicintya kṛpayā sa
11 *cacāra maudam* | *tāvad=Dharis=tam=anaya* ²⁷ *=divam=ātītānsōs* ²⁸
=tējānsy ²⁹ *=ahō nu r* ³⁰ *=iha nō gaṇan=ā-*
12 *sti v(b)andhau* | [6 ||] *Dhiras=tatas=tata-yaçā* ⁴ *-paṭa-guṇṭhi-āçō* ³¹
yaç=c=āpir aktam=akarōd=bhuvanaṁ guṇ-aughaiḥ | *bhavyaḥ sa*
bhūri-vibha-
13 *vō Bhagadatta-nāmā tasy=ātmaja* ⁴ *kṣi* ³² *-dhurām v(b)ibharāṇ=cakā-*
ra || [7 ||] *vajr=iva nirjjita-ripu* ⁴ *prthu-vajra-kāntiḥ sv-ōrjj-ārj-*
javā-
14 *rjjita-jagaj-jaya* ³³ *-lav(b)dha-kirtti* ⁴ | *rājyan=tad=āpa rucam=astam-*
itē khar-āṅsau ³⁴ *bhrātuh çikh=iva valavān=n=iha Vajra-dattaḥ*

¹⁴ Metre: *Vam̐ça-sthāvila*.

¹⁵ Read *magnām narakō*. Perhaps the intended reading was *magnān=narakō*.

¹⁶ Read *am̐çakakḥ*.

¹⁷ Read *āsīt*.

¹⁸ Read *agginīm*.

¹⁹ Read *çriyam*.

²⁰ Perhaps read *pratindūyitam*, (i.e., *prati indūyitam*).

²¹ Metre of verses 4–8: *Vasanta-tilakā*; but the second half of verse 4 is out of order, its first pada having only 13, while its second pada has 15 instants.

²² This akṣara is illegible; there is also here one short instant wanting; perhaps read *Āditīm samavajitya*, or *Āditiçān=avajityā*.

²³ There is here one short instant in excess; read *kuṇḍalē*, omitting *na*.

²⁴ Read *vidhān*.

²⁵ Read *Prāgyōtisē*.

²⁶ Read *darppa*.

²⁷ Read *anayad*.

²⁸ Read *ātītānsōs*.

²⁹ Read *tējānsy*.

³⁰ Here *r* is inserted in order to avoid the hiatus *nu iha*.

³¹ Read *āmsō*.

³² Here one short akṣara is omitted. Read *kṣiti*.

³³ Read *jaya*, and below, l. 30, *luṇḍana*, and l. 45, *ōdbhāsana*; omitting *l*.

³⁴ Read *kharām̐çau*.

- 15 || [8 ||] ³⁵ Ēvaṃ vaṇṇa ³⁶ kramēṇa khim ³⁷ =attha nikhilāṃ bhuñjātā ³⁸
 nārakāpāṃ rājñā ³⁹ mlēcch-ādhināthō vidhi-calana-vaṇṇa-eva ja-
 16 grāha rājyam | **Qālastambha** ³⁹ kramē 'sy=āpi hi narapatayō
 Vighraḥastambha-mukhyā vikhyātā ³⁹ samv(b)abhūvur=dvi-guṇi
⁴⁰ -daṇṭā
 17 saṃkhyayā saṃvibhinnā ³⁹ || [9 ||] ⁴¹ Nirvvaṇṇam ⁴² nṛpam=ēkaviṃ-
 satitamaṃ ⁴³ ṇi-Tyāga-siṃh-āsiddhan ⁴³ =lēsām=vikhyā ⁴⁴ divaṇ-
 gatam punar=a-

Second Plate : Obverse.

- 18 hō bhaumō hi nō yuyyatē ⁴⁵ [1] svām=iti ⁴⁶ pravacintya tat-prakṛtayō
 bhū-bhāra-rakṣā-kṣamaṃ sāgandhyāt=paricakrīrē narapa-
 19 ti ⁴⁹ ṇi-V(b)rahmapālaṃ hi yaṃ | [1 10 ||] Ēkō 'sau jītavān=ripun ⁴⁷=
 samiti bhō ki ³⁹ nāma citra ³⁹ nidam ⁴³ atr=ōdāharapaṃ Harō Ha-
 20 ri=ahō Bhīṣm-ādayō 'nē ⁴⁹ pi hi | itam ⁵⁰ samparimṛṇya yasya hi
 bhaṭā sthāna-sthitasya dviṣām dikṣv=astās v=api vidra-
 21 vṇa mahat-āccaryan ⁵¹ =sadā mēuirē || [11 ||] ⁵² Vibhava-phala-
 vilās-āsvāda-jāt-ābhilāṣa ⁵³ sa yuvatin=upayēmē j ⁵⁴ = ā-
 22 nurāgā ⁵⁵ janēsu | avani-kula-samuttha ⁵⁶ -kṣmāpa-samprātya ⁵⁷ -lakṣ-
 myāḥ sthitam=iva kula-dēvi-nāmadhēyam=v(b)abhāra || [12 ||]

³⁵ Metre of verse 9: *Sragdharā*.

³⁶ Read *vaṇṇa*.

³⁷ One short akṣara is wanting. Read *kṣitim*.

³⁸ Read *bhuñjātām* and *rājñām*.

³⁹ Read *Qālastambhaḥ*, and *vikhyātāḥ*; l. 17, *saṃvibhinnāḥ*; l. 19, *narapatiḥ*, *kim* and *citraṃ*.

⁴⁰ One akṣara is wanting. Read *dviṇṇita*.

⁴¹ Metre of verses 10 and 11: *Qārdūla-vikrīḍita*.

⁴² Read *nirvvaṇṇam* and *ēkaviṃsatitamaṃ*.

⁴³ Read *ābhidhan*.

⁴⁴ Read *tēṣām vikṣya*.

⁴⁵ Read *yuyyatē* or *yūyatē*.

⁴⁶ Read *svām=iti*.

⁴⁷ Read *ripun* or *ripūn*.

⁴⁸ Read *nīdām* or *nīdam* (i.e., *nu idam*).

⁴⁹ Read *'nyē* (for *anyē*).

⁵⁰ Read *ittham*.

⁵¹ Read *āccaryam*.

⁵² Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁵³ Read *ābhilāṣaḥ*; l. 27, *ānubhāvāḥ*.

⁵⁴ Read *yā*.

⁵⁵ Read *nurāgāj* (i.e., *yā anurāgāj* = *janēsu*).

⁵⁶ Read *samuttho*.

- 23 ⁵³ Ratn-ōpamā narapati ⁵⁹ sva-guṇaiḥ=m=mah-ārhan=yaḥ pālayēd=
iti janaiḥ=avagamyā samyak | nītaḥ prasiddhim=iha tē-
24 na sa-kirttanēna ̐ri-Ratnapāla iti sūnur=ajāyat=āsyām ⁶⁰ || [13 ||]
Durvvara-vairi-kari-kumbha-bhidā-bhav-āsra-srōtō-va-
25 h-āhati-calat-kari-muktikābhiḥ [1] yad-yuddha-bhūr=v=vipapī-vad=
dhata-pādma-rāgi ̐bhōta ⁶¹
26 vira-vaṇijā ⁶² nikarai ⁶² prakirṇā || [14 ||] Simhāsane 'thā ⁶³ Narak-
ānvaya-j-āv(b)ja-bhānu ⁶⁴ samvēṇya ⁶⁵
27 tām ⁶⁶ divam=agād=a-kalaṅka-gaṇḍaḥ | kāl-ōcitam vicaritam hi mah-
ānubhāvā ⁶⁵ samvidri-
28 tā ⁶⁷ hi guṇa-dōṣa-vidō bhavasya || [15] ⁶⁸ Niṣit-āsi-marīci-maṇjari-
jaṭila-bhuja-v(b)ala-vi-
29 jita-narapati-sat ⁶⁹ ōpāyanī-kṛta-sa-mada-gaja-ghaṭā-kāṭa-syandī ⁷⁰-
dān-ām v(b)u-ṇikar-āsā-
30 ra-samupaṇamita-santāpam sakal-āri-kāṭaka-luṇṭanal ⁶⁸-lampāṭa-su-
bhata-v(b)āhu-ṇiṭap-āṭavi-
31 samkaṭam=api mahājana-nivāsa-yōgyam ⁶⁰ | sa-mada-sundarī-smita-
sudhā-dhavalita-saudha-ṇi-
32 khara-sahasr-ānta-hṛta ⁷¹-taraṇi-maṇḍalam | Malay-ācala-sṭhali ⁷²-
ruha-kānanam=iv=ānēka-bhōgi ⁷³-ṇata-sēvitam ⁶⁰ | nabhō-
33 vat=sēv-āvāpta-v(b)udha-guru-kāvy-ālaṅkāram | kailāsa-giri-ṇikha-
ram=iva paramēṇvar-ādhisthānam ⁶⁰ | Vittēṇa-nivēṣita-
34 ṇi=ca | yac=ca ṇaka-kṛidā-ṇani ⁷⁴-dṛḍha-paṇjarēṇa Gurijar-ādhirāja-
prajarēṇa ⁷⁵ dur-d danta ⁷⁶-Gaudēndra-kari-kūṭa-pākalēna

⁵⁷ Read *samprāpya*.

⁵⁸ Metre of verses 13-15: *Vasanta-tilakā*.

⁵⁹ Read *ratnōpamō narapatiḥ* as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁶⁰ Read final *m* for *m̐*. Also read *ādhisthānam*.

⁶¹ Read *̐bhōta*, as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁶² Read *vaṇijām nikaraiḥ* as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁶³ Read *'thā*.

⁶⁴ Read *bhānum*, which is the reading of the Suālkucī grant.

⁶⁵ Read *samvēṇya*.

⁶⁶ Read *tām*.

⁶⁷ Read *samvidratē*.

⁶⁸ From here prose.

⁶⁹ Read *ṇat*.

⁷⁰ Read *syandī*.

⁷¹ Probably read *antar-hita*.

⁷² Read *sṭhali*.

⁷³ Read *bhōgi*.

⁷⁴ Read *ṇakuni*, as in the Suālkucī grant.

⁷⁵ Read *prajavārēṇa*, which is the reading of the Suālkucī grant.

⁷⁶ Read *dānta*.

- 35 Kēral-ēṣ-ācalā-ṣilājatunā V(b)āhika-Tāik-āttanṣka⁷⁷-kāriṇā dākṣiṇā-
tya-kṣōṇi-pati-rājajanmaṇā⁷⁸ kṣa-
36 pit-ārāti-pakṣatayā kṣitipa-vakṣaḥ-kavāta-patēn=ēva prākārēṇ=
āvṛta-prāntham⁷⁹=unmada-kala-hansa⁸⁰-kāmini-ku-
37 la⁸¹-kupita-pēṣala-marun-mand-āndōlit-ōrmmi-ṣikarair=upaṣamit-
āpāvṛta-sandha-ṣikhar-ādhirūḍha-sundarī-sura-

Second Plate: Reverse.

- 38 t-ōtsav-āyāsēna kailāsa-kari-dukula⁸²-kadalikā-patē⁸³ nēka-nākēṣa-
kāmini-vibhrama-maṇi-darppaṇē-
39 na Lauhity-āmbhōdhinā virājamānam⁸⁰ | mānanīyam=anēka-mana-
ka⁸⁴-pati-sārthānām yathārth-ābhidhānam
40 Prāgyōtiṣ-ēṣa⁸⁵-durjay-ākhyā-puram=adhyuvāsa | yatra ca jaḍatā
hāra-yaṣṭiṣu n=ēndriyēṣu cañcalatā hari-
41 ṣu na mānasēṣu bhāṅguratā bhruvi bhramēṣu na pratipannēṣu
s-ōpasarggatā dhātuṣu na prajāsu vāmatā kāmi-
42 niṣu skhalitā madhu-mada-mudita-kāmini-gatiṣu nisprhatā dōṣa-
kāriṣu niratyaya-madhu-pān-āṣaktir⁸⁶=m=ma-
43 dhu-kāra-kara⁸⁷-kulēṣu atyantam priy⁸⁸-ānuvarttanam rathāṅga-
nāmasu piṣit⁸⁹-āṣitā ṣvāpadēṣu tatra Vāsav-āvā-
44 sa-sparddhini⁹⁰ vidhur=iva vivarddhita-ṣila-vēlā-jaladhi-maṇḍalāḥ
sātru⁹¹-saras-ādarṣita-padm-āpahāraṣ=ca mārta-
45 ṇḍa iva bhū-bhṛc-chirō-nivēṣita-pādaḥ kamal-ākar-ōdbhāsanā⁸⁸-
lāṣaṣ⁹²=ca paramēṣva-

77 Read *bāhika-tāyik-ātaṅka* or *bāhlika-tāyik-ātaṅka*.

78 Read *yakṣmaṇā*.

79 Read *prāntam*.

80 Read *hansa*.

81 In the original *kula* is only just traceable, but in the Suālkuoi grant it is distinct.

82 Read *dukūla*.

83 Probably read *patēn* = *anēka*-

84 Perhaps read *mānaka*.

85 Read *Prāgyōtiṣ-ēṣa*.

86 Read *āsaktir*. In the original the first *ā* of *pānāṣakti* is cancelled; but the real intention may have been to cancel the second *ā*; for *pāna-sakti* would give the same meaning.

87 Cancel *kara*.

88 Read *priy*.

89 Read *piṣit*.

90 Read *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparddhini*.

91 Read *ṣātru*.

92 Read *lāṣaṣ*.

- 46 rō'pi Kāmarūp-ānandī⁹⁸ Bhaum-ānvayō 'py=ullāsita-dānav-āriḥ
puruṣ-ōttamō⁹⁴ 'py=a-da-
- 47 nārddanō⁹⁴ virō 'pi mattēha⁹⁶.gāmī yasā⁹⁶ ca Manmath-ōnmāthi-
rūpaṁ tiraskṛt-āmbhōdhi-
- 48 gāmbhīryam jagad-vijay-ācāsi⁹⁶.vīryam Skand-āskandi-vīryam
yaç=c=Ārjunō yaçasi⁹⁷ Bhī-
- 49 masēnō yudhi Kṛtāntaḥ krudhi Dāvānalō vipakṣa-vīrudhi Čaça-
dharō vidyā-nabhasi Ma-
- 50 lay-ānilaḥ su-janu-sumanasi Sūryō 'ri-tamasi Uday-ācalō mitr-ōd-
gama-sampadi ya⁹⁸ |
- 51 mahārāj-ādhirāja-çri-V(b)rahmapāla-varmma-dēva-pād-ānudyā-
ta-paramēçvara-parama-bhaṭṭarakō
- 52 mahārāj-ādhirājaḥ çri-Ratnapā⁹⁹-varmma-dēvaḥ kuçali || ✽ ||
Uttara-kulē trayōdaça-grāma-viṣay-āntaḥpāti-Vā-
- 53 madēva-pātak-āpakṛṣṭa-bhūmi-samēta-lābu-kuṭi-kṣētrā¹⁰⁰ dhānya-
dvi-sahasr-ōtpattika-bhūmau | yathāyatham samupasthi-
- 54 ta-v(b)rāhmaṇ-ādi-viṣaya-karaṇa-vyāvahārika-pramukha-jānapadān
rāja-rājūi-rāṇak-ādihikṛtān=anyān=api rā-
- 55 janaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabhṛtīn yathā-kāla-bhāvinō'pi
sarvvān mānanā=pūrvvakam¹⁰¹ samādiçati viditam=a-
- 56 [stu] bhavatām bhūmir=iyam¹⁰²=vāstu-kēdāra-sthala-jala-gōpracār-
āvaskar-ādy-upētā yathā-samsthā sva-sim-ōddēça-paryautā
- 57 hasti-v(b)andha-naukā-v(b)andha-caur-ōddharāṇa-daṇḍa-pāç-ōpari-
kara-nānā-nivitt¹⁰³.ōtkhēṭana-hasty-açv-ōṣṭra-gō-mahiṣ-āj-āti-

Third Plate: Obverse.

- 58 ka¹⁰⁴.pracāra-prabhṛtīnām¹⁰²=vinivārta-sarvva-piḍā çāsanī-kṛtya |
Pārāsarō 'bhūd=bhuvi Dēvadattaḥ Kā-
- 59 nṛō 'grajō Vājasanēyak-āgryaḥ | āsādyā yam¹⁰²=vēda-vidām par-
ārdhyaṁ trayyā kṛt-ārthāyitam=ēva samya-

⁹⁸ Read *ānandī*.

⁹⁴ So also the *Suālkuci* grant; but read *ajanārddanō*.

⁹⁶ Read *mattēbha*.

⁹⁶ Read *yaçya*.

⁹⁷ Read *ācāsi* and *yaçasi*.

⁹⁸ Read, *ca*. *Ya* may be a Prākṛit form, if it is not simply a clerical error.

⁹⁹ Read *Ratnapāla*.

¹⁰⁰ The reading is false; perhaps read *kṣētrāyām*, agreeing with *bhūmau*.

¹⁰¹ Read *pūrvvakam*.

¹⁰² Read *iyam*; l. 58, *prabhṛtīnām*, and l. 59, *yam*.

¹⁰³ Read *nivitt*.

¹⁰⁴ Read *āvika*, as in the *Suālkuci* grant.

- 60 k ॥ [1 ॥] Agny-āhitas=tasya v(b)abhūva sūnuḥ Sadgaṅgadattō¹⁰⁵
 guṇa-ḡila-ḡālī [1] yaṁ vikṣya ṣaṭ-karmma-rataṁ dvijēṣaṁ¹⁰⁶
- 61 Bhrgv-ādiṣu pratyayitō jan-aughaḥ ॥ [2] Ćyāmāyikā tasya v(b)a-
 bhūva patnī pati-vratā ḡila-guṇ-ōpannā¹⁰⁷ | ugrēndu-
- 62 lēkh=ēva virājatē yā viḡuddha-rūpā tamasō nihantrī¹⁰⁸ ॥ [3 ॥]
 Āsyāṁ¹⁰⁹=abhūc=chāstra-vidāṁ dhurīṇas=trastrah¹¹⁰ su-
- 63 tō 'ghāt khalu Viradattaḥ | yaṁ prāpya dharmm-ācra-
 v(b)uddhim kālaḥ kalir=nyak-kṛta-vad=v(b)abhūva ॥ [4 ॥] Saṁ-
 krāntau
- 64 Vipṇupadyā¹¹¹=capaṇca-vimṡ-āv(b)da-rājyake | tasmai dattā mayā
 pitrōḥ=yaḡaḡ-puṇyā-
- 65 ya c=ātmanam¹¹² ॥ [5 ॥] Simā pūrvvēṇa vṛhad-ālyāṁ ḡālmali-
 vṛkṣaḥ | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna rū-
- 66 ṣi-gaṇa-pāṭhi-nau-simni khara-tata-stha-ḡālmali-vṛkṣaḥ ॥ dakṣiṇēna
 tan-nau-simni
- 67 v(b)adari-vṛkṣaḥ | dakṣiṇa-paḡcimēna ta¹¹³-nau-simni kāḡimv(b)ala-
 vṛkṣaḥ | paḡcimēna
- 68 khara-tata-sth-ācavatha-vṛkṣaḥ | paḡcima-ga | uttara-ga-vakrēṇa
 āli¹¹⁴ | kāḡimv(b)a-
- 69 lā¹¹⁵-vṛkṣaḡ=ca | paḡcim-ōttarēṇa kṣētr-ālyāṁ hijjala-vṛkṣaḥ | pūrv-
 va-ga | uttara-ga-va-
- 70 krēṇa kṣētr-āli¹¹⁴ | ḡālmali-vṛkṣau | puṇaḥ pūrvva-ga-dakṣiṇa-ga-
 vakrēṇa kṣētr-āli¹¹⁴ | kāḡimv(b)ala-vṛkṣau | ki-
- 71 ṇi-cit-pūrvva-ga | dakṣiṇa-ga-vakrēṇa kṣētr-āli¹¹⁴ | ḡālmali-vṛkṣau |
 uttarēṇa vṛhad-ālyāṁ kāḡimv(b)ala-vr-
- 72 kṣaḥ | uttara-pūrvvēṇa vṛhad-ālyāṁ vētasa-vṛkṣaḡ=c=ēti ॥

The Seal.

- 1 Svasti Prāḡjyōtiṣ-ādhipati-
- 2 mahārāj-ādhirāja-ḡri-Ratna-
- 3 pāla-varmma-dēvaḥ ॥

¹⁰⁵ Read *Sadgaṅgādattō*.

¹⁰⁶ Read *dvijēṣu*, the anusvāra is nearly obliterated. Perhaps it might also be intended for *dvijēḡam*.

¹⁰⁷ Read *ōpannā*.

¹⁰⁸ Read *nihantri*.

¹⁰⁹ Omit the anusvāra.

¹¹⁰ Read *trastah*. The second r, however, appears to be slightly obliterated.

¹¹¹ Read *Vipṇupadyā*.

¹¹² Read *ātmanah*.

¹¹³ Read *tan*.

¹¹⁴ Read either *āliḡ* or *ālī*. There is in the original plate a trace of the long i in line 11.

¹¹⁵ Read *kāḡimbala*.

TRANSLATION.

(FIRST PLATE: line 1) Hail!

(Verse 1.) "He may be seen incessantly exhibiting his beautiful white figure,¹ in the Tāṇḍava (dance) according to the strict rules of that dance, (guided) by the stainless reflection of his body formed on his own nails: even thus does Ṣaṅkara (or Ṣiva), who, though like the Supreme Being he is endowed with the quality of omnipresence (lit., expansion), assumes numberless forms at his absolute will, shine forth as the Lord of the World for the sake of the welfare of that (world).

(2.) "What? Is it that here flows the light of the white rays (of the moon) in congelation, or a solution of crystals; or is it that the beautiful Ṣaṅkari (or female counterpart of Ṣiva) and his Ṣakti (or energy) is intently engaged in marking quick-time music in its primeval form?"² It may be with such musings as these about the nature of its water that the happy population (of the country) quickly resorts to that river Lauhitya (or Brahmaputra), which by removing all sins protects the world.

(Verse 3.) Of Hari (i.e., Viṣṇu) who, in the form of a boar, raised the earth when she had sunk beneath the ocean, Naraka of the Asura (or demon) race was the son, who acted the very part of the moon to the personal charms of the ladies of the Suras (or gods);³

(4.) Who, declaring Aditi to be a woman, weak, decrepit, timid, stupid, deserted by her kinsmen, and overtaken by misfortune, conquered the Suras, and snatched away her ear-rings which were precious as being typical of the glory of the Suras.

(5.) In Prāgjyōtiṣa, the best of towns, provided with brilliant troops of warriors like systems of suns, and lovely-faced women of many kinds, he took up his residence, after he had acquired prosperity, equal in pleasantness to the pride of his arms.

(6.) "I am grown too old (to engage) in war, and my father will gain a brilliant reputation," bethinking himself thus, out of kindly consideration, he lived carelessly: so Hari removed him to heaven.

¹ The reading *sōsaṇvā* appears to be corrupt, and I can make nothing satisfactory of it. The Suālkucī grant here fails to help. I have taken *sō* as prakritic for *sa*; compare *ante*, line 50, *ya*, footnote 97.

² Or, as Dr. Bloch suggests, it may be translated: "intently engaged in dividing the original current," of the heavenly Ganges in Ṣiva's matted hair according to the well-known mythological story.

³ The moon beholds the charms of the Apsarases; so did Naraka, of whom it is related that he "seized the daughters of the Gandharvas and of gods and men, as well as the Apsarases themselves." See Dowson's Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, *sub voce* Naraka. Suggestion of Dr. Bloch.

Alas! for one who is keenly desirous of glory there is truly in this world no counting of kinship.⁴

(7.) Then his wise son, **Bhagadatta** by name, whose shoulder was girt with the mantle of far-reaching glory, and who by the multitude of his good qualities won the affections of the (whole) world, carried upon himself the burden (of the government) of the country with propriety and much prosperity.

(8.) Then the mighty **Vajradatta**, having like **Vajrin** (i.e., Indra), conquered his enemies, being in beauty like a large diamond, and enjoying the reputation of having achieved the conquest of the world through his own honesty and energy, obtained that kingdom of his brother, just as fire (attains) brilliancy on the setting of the sun.⁵

(9.) After thus, for several generations, kings of Naraka's dynasty had ruled the whole country, a great chief of the Mlecchas, owing to a turn of (adverse) fate, took possession of the kingdom. (This was) **Çālastambha**. In succession to him also there were chiefs, altogether twice ten (i.e., twenty) in number, who are well-known as **Vigraha-stambha** and the rest.

(10.) Seeing that the twenty-first of them, the illustrious chief **Tyāga Simha**⁶ by name, had departed to heaven without (leaving) any of his race (to succeed him),

(Second Plate: obverse:) his subjects, thinking it well that a **Bhauma** (i.e., one of Naraka's race) should be appointed as their lord, chose **Brahmapāla**, from among his kindred, to be their king on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country.⁷

⁴ Naraka is said to have been slain by Kṛṣṇa, who is an incarnation of Viṣṇu or Hari. The latter was Naraka's father: hence the father slew his son. The poet represents this as a sort of voluntary sacrifice on the part of Naraka, who feeling himself too old for his accustomed warlike exploits, purposely, i.e., out of consideration for his father, lived in a careless fashion in order to afford his father an opportunity of slaying him, so that his father (Viṣṇu) might have the reputation of having slain the much-feared demon Naraka. The poet, however, cannot refrain from adding a word of disapproval of Viṣṇu's conduct in setting aside the claims of kinship for the sake of earning a reputation. This explanation was substantially suggested to me by Dr. Bloch.

⁵ There is here a play on the word *vajra*, which means both 'the thunderbolt' and 'a diamond.' Indra is called *vajrin*, or 'the wielder of *vajra*' or 'the thunder bolt;' and *Vajradatta* or 'the gift of *Vajra*' is said to be as beautiful as a *vajra* or 'diamond.'

⁶ The meaning apparently is that the whole series consisted of 21 members viz., *Çālastambha*, 19 others, and *Tyāga Simha*. It is not clear whether the name of the last king is *Qrī-tyāga* or *Tyāga*.

⁷ Verses 10 and 11 are two relative sentences (with *yam* and *yasya*) dependent on the demonstrative *sa* in verse 12.

(11.) "Single-handed he overcame his enemy in battle: why indeed should this appear strange to his detractors, (seeing that) on this point Hara and Hari are examples, and Bhīṣma and indeed many others besides." Thus arguing, his warriors have always thought very highly of (the conduct of) their home-staying (king), seeing that his enemies fled away in all eight directions.⁸

(12.) His desire being stimulated by the taste of the joys due to his prosperity, he married a young woman who by reason of her devotion to her people bore the name of Kuladēvi, which is, as it were, the standing name for Lakṣmi (or 'good fortune') attainable by (all) rulers sprung from any (noble) family of the world.⁹

(13.) By him, who had such a reputation, was begotten on her a son called Ratnapāla, who gained renown because his people justly concluded that a jewel-like king would, by his good qualities, foster the most worthy among them.¹⁰

(14.) By reason of the elephants' pearls, carried forth by the impetus of the unrestrainable stream of blood running from the split foreheads of the elephants of his enemies,¹¹ his (*i.e.*, Ratnapāla's) battle-field looked beautiful like a market-place strewn with the stores of merchants, and ruby-coloured through (the blood of) the slain.¹²

(15.) Then having placed him (*i.e.*, Ratnapāla) on the throne to be to the dynasty of Naraka what the sun is to the lotuses, he (*i.e.*, Brahmapāla), the spotless champion, went to heaven; for noble-minded men who know the good and the evil of the world know to do that which is suitable to the occasion.¹³

(Second Plate: obverse: line 28: Prose.) In his capital, the heat (of the weather) was relieved by the copious showers of ruttish water flowing from the temples of his troops of lusty (ware-)elephants which had been presented to him by hundreds of kings conquered by the power of his arms entwined in clusters of flashes of his sharp sword. Though

⁸ Brahmapāla appears to have been of a mild and peaceable disposition; and this is the way that the poets expresses that fact. His son Ratnapāla formed the strongest contrast to him, being a very strong and warlike ruler, with a very long reign.

⁹ There is here a play on the word *kula* or '(good) family'. *Kula-dēvi* means a (goddess or) queen of good family or of all good families.

¹⁰ There is here a play on the word *ratna* or 'jewel.' A *ratna-upama* or 'jewel like' prince may be expected to become a *ratna-pāla* or 'jewel-protecting' king.

¹¹ This refers to the well-known Indian fable of certain pearls which are found in the frontal protuberances of certain elephants.

¹² Both grants read *pāḍmarāgi*. The correct form, however, would seem to be *pāḍmarāgū*.

¹³ The emendation *saṁvidratē* was suggested by Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri.

(that capital) was crowded with a dense forest, as it were, of arms of his brave soldiers who were hankering after the plunder of the camps of all his enemies, yet was it fit to be inhabited by wealthy people (merchants.) (In it) the disk of the sun was hid¹⁴ (from view) by the thousands of plastered turrets which are rendered still whiter by the nectar-like¹⁵ smiles of the love-drunk fair damsels (standing on them). It was frequented by many hundreds of well-to-do people¹⁶, just as a forest planted on the heights of the Malaya mountains (is frequented) by snakes. It is adorned by learned men, religious preceptors and poets who have made it their place of resort, just as the sky is adorned by Mercury, Jupiter and Venus.¹⁷ It resembles the summit of mount Kailāsa in being the residence of the Paramēçvara (i.e., supreme ruler, or Çiva, the supreme God), and in being inhabited by a Vittēça (i.e., a master of wealth, or Kuvēra the God of wealth).¹⁸ Like the cloth which protects the king's broad chest, its boundaries were encompassed by a rampart, furnished with a fence strong like that used for the game-birds of the Çakas, fit to cause chagrin to the king of Gurjara, to give fever to the heads of the untameable elephants of the chief of Gauḍa, to act like bitumen in the earth to the lord of Kērala, to strike awe into the Bāhikas and Tāikas, to cause discomfiture (lit., pulmonary consumption) to the master of the Deccan country; and generally to serve for the purpose of discomfiting the (king's) enemies. It is rendered beautiful by the river Lauhitya which gives relief to the fair damsels, that after the exertion of sexual enjoyment ascend to the retirement of their stuccoed turrets, by the spray of its current gently wafted up by the breeze charmingly resonant with the prattle of the flocks of love-drunk females of the Kala-hamsa ducks;

(Second Plate: reverse:) and which (river) also resembles the cloth of the finely wrought flags carried by the elephants of Kailāsa, and

¹⁴ I have adopted the reading *antarhita* in my translation (see text, note 71). The original reads *anta-hṛta*, which would mean 'obstructed by the ends' (or points) of the thousands of pinnacles.

¹⁵ There is here a verbal conceit in the original which is untranslatable. *Saudha* means 'plastered,' and *sudhā* means both 'nectar' and 'whitewash.'

¹⁶ There is here a complicated verbal conceit, which cannot be exactly translated. *Bhōgin* means both a 'well-to-do, pleasure-loving man' and 'a snake.' The Malaya mountains, with its fragrant breezes, will suit the former, while the forest will suit the latter.

¹⁷ Here is again a verbal conceit: *budha* means both 'a learned man' and 'Mercury'; *guru* both 'a religious preceptor' and 'Jupiter,' and *kāvya* both 'a poet' and 'Venus.' The capital was to the men, what the sky is to the planets.

¹⁸ There is here an obvious play on the words *paramēçvara* and *vittēça* which are epithets of the king as well as of a god.

the jewelled mirrors used in their coqueties by the numerous females (i.e., the Apsarasas) of the lord of heaven (i.e., Indra). It is an object of respect to merchants who are the owners of numerous (kinds of) wares. Such is the town in which the lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa took up his residence and which he called by the appropriate name of the 'Impregnable one' (*durjaya*). Here dulness might be observed in necklaces, but not in the senses (of the inhabitants); fickleness in apes, but not in their minds; changefulness in the motions of the eyebrows, but not in promises; accidents (happening) to things,¹⁹ but not to the subjects. Here capriciousness might be seen (only) in women; reeling (only) in the gait of women excited with the (tender) intoxication of spring-tide²⁰; covetousness (only) in evil-doers; safe addiction to the sipping of honey (only) in swarms of bees; exceeding devotion to love (only) in Brahmany ducks (*Anas Casarca*); and eating of flesh (only) in wild beasts.²¹ In that town, which emulated the residence of Vāsava (i.e., Indra)²², the king, who resembles the moon in that he makes his virtues to wax, as the moon makes the tides of the encircling ocean to wax, and in that he causes his enemies to experience the deprivation of their wealth, as the moon causes the ponds to experience the deprivation of their lotuses²³; and who resembles the sun in that he makes his feet to rest on the heads of his enemies, as the sun makes his rays to rest on the summits of the mountains,²⁴ and in that he delights in making his copper-mines lucrative, as the sun makes the lotus-ponds brilliant²⁵: who, being a Paramēṣvara (or paramount sovereign), takes pleasure in (the country of) Kāmarūpa; who, though being of the Bhauma (i.e., of Naraka's) race, delights in being the enemy of the Dānavas (or demons); who, being a *Puruṣōttama* or 'perfect man,' does not act as a *Janārdana*²⁶

¹⁹ There is a double meaning in *s-ōpasargatā dhātuṣu* which may be also translated 'the prefixing of prepositions (*upasarga*) to verbal roots (*dhātu*).'

²⁰ *Madhu-māda* might also mean 'intoxication with wine.'

²¹ I have inserted "only," because probably oppositions are intended here just as in the preceding passage. Thus "capriciousness in women but not in men;" "reeling in love-drunk women but not in wine-drunk men;" "covetousness in evil-doers but not in other citizens;" "eating of flesh in wild beasts but not in men;" etc.

²² I propose to read *Vāsav-āvāsa-sparāddhīni*. The Snāṅkuṭi grant reads *Vāsav-āsparddhīni*.

²³ *Padma* is the lotus which closes at night, but it also signifies the wealth of Kuvēra, and hence 'wealth' generally.

²⁴ *Pāda* means both 'a foot' and 'a ray'; and *bhū-bhṛt* means both 'a king' and 'a mountain.'

²⁵ *Kamal-ākara* means both 'a lotus-pond' and 'a copper-mine.'

²⁶ There is here an untranslatable play on the words *puruṣōttama* and *janārdana*. Both are epithets of Viṣṇu, who is called *puruṣōttama* or 'the best of men,' but also

(or troubler of his subjects); who, though being a valiant man, walks (leisurely) like an elephant: whose figure is such as to outdo Manmatia (or the god of love); whose profundity such as to put into the shade the ocean; whose intelligence²⁷ such as to be a guarantee of the conquest of the world; whose valour such as to surpass Skanda (or the god of war): who is an Arjuna in fame, a Bhīmasēna in war, a Kṛtānta (or god of death) in wrath, a forest-conflagration in destroying his plant-like adversaries:²⁸ who is the moon in the sky of learning, the (sweet) breeze of the Malaya mountains in the midst of the jasmine-like²⁹ men of good birth, the sun in eclipsing his enemies, the mountain of the East³⁰ in the successful advancement of his friends: this king, the *Paramēṣvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Ratnapāla** Varma-dēva, who meditates at the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Brahmapāla** Varma-dēva, may he prosper.

(Second Plate: reverse; line 52.) With reference to the land producing two thousand (measures of) rice, and the fields with the clusters of gourds, together with the inferior land of the hamlet of Vāmadēva, (the whole) situated on the northern bank (of the Brahmaputra), within the district of the "Thirteen Villages," the king sends his greetings and commands to all and several who reside (there): to the

janārdana or 'the troubler of men,' because he excites or agitates them. The king, on the contrary, is declared to be a *puruṣōttama*, but not a *janārdana*. There is, in fact, a verbal conceit involved, in every one of the phrases descriptive of the king. Thus *paramēṣvara* is an epithet of Śiva who is an ascetic and takes no pleasure in *kāma-rūpa* (or attractive things); the king, on the contrary, though he is a *paramēṣvara*, or rather because he is *paramēṣvara* or 'supreme ruler,' takes pleasure in *Kāma-rūpa* (his country). Again Naraka was himself a Dānava, but the king, though of Naraka's race, delights in being an enemy of the Dānavas. But the word *dānavāri* may also be divided into *dāna* or 'gift,' and *vāri* or 'water,' i.e., the water, the out-pouring of which is symbolical of the grant of a gift. In that case the passage means that the king, though of Naraka's (i.e., of Dānava) race, yet delights in giving presents to Brāhmins.

²⁷ I propose to read *dhīryam*, because *viryam* recurs immediately in the following sentence. *V* and *dh* are apt to be confounded in writing.

²⁸ There is an untranslatable conceit in the word *virudhi*, which may also be spelt *virudhi*. Spelt *virudh*, the word means 'a plant,' spelt *virudh*, it means 'stopping.' With the latter spelling, the passage would mean that the king is like a forest-fire in stopping his enemies.

²⁹ *Sumanas* may be any flower, but especially the sweet-scented *Jasminum grandiflorum*. The Malaya mountains were famous for their breezes laden with the sweet scent of their fauna. The king, in the midst of his flower-like aristocracy, wafts, as it were, their sweet scent over the country.

³⁰ There is a verbal conceit in *mitrōdgama* which may also mean 'the rising of the sun;' that is, what the eastern mountains are to the rising sun, that the king is to the advancement of his friends.

(common) people of the Brāhman and other castes, headed by the district revenue officers and their clerks, as well as to the other (higher-class) people, such as the Rājanakas, Rājaputras, Rājavallabhas, etc., and above them the Rāpakas, Rājūis, and Rājas; and, in fact, to all who may reside there in future at any time.

Be it known to you, that this land, together with its houses, paddy-fields, dry land, water, cattle-pastures, refuse-lands, etc., of whatever kind it may be, inclusive of any place within its borders, and freed from all worries on account of the fastening of elephants, the fastening of boats, the searching for thieves, the inflicting of punishments, the tenant's taxes, the imposts for various causes, and the pasturing of animals, such as elephants, horses, camels, cattle, buffalos, goats and sheep, as set forth in this charter:—³¹

(Third Plate: line 58: verse 1.) There was a Brāhman in the land, Dēvadatta, of the Pārāsara Gōtra and the Kāṇva gākhā; a leader among the Vājasaneyakas, whom on having found to be the foremost vedic scholar, the Vēdas, in their threefold division³², felt themselves satisfied.

(2.) He had a son, Sadgaṅgādatta, richly endowed with (every) virtue, who ever kept the holy fire burning (in his house), and at the sight of whose devotion to the six holy duties³³ a multitude of people were established in their faith in the whole body of Brāhmans from Bhrgu downwards.

(3.) He had a wife, Ćyāmāyikā, devoted to her husband and endowed with (every) virtue, who shines like the streak (crescent or quarter) of the moon, pure in form and dispelling the darkness.

(4.) From her was born a son, Viradatta, a leader among the learned in the Ćāstras, and fearful of (committing) any offence, on the experience of whose deep-seated piety and formidable intellect the Kali age felt, as it were, humbled.

(5.) To him, on the Viṣṇupadī Saṅkrānti,³⁴ in the twenty-fifth year of my reign, (this land) is given by me for the sake of the good and the glory of my father and of myself.

³¹ The sentence which breaks off here, is resumed below in verse 5.

³² Referring either to the three Vēdas, or to the three vedic sciences of hymn, sacrifice and song. The reading *ākṛt-ārthāyitam*, however, is not quite intelligible to me.

³³ The six duties are: studying and teaching the Vēdas, offering sacrifices and conducting them for others, giving and receiving gifts.

³⁴ There are four of these; viz., the instants of the sun's entrance into the four Hindū signs *vṛṣa* (taurus), *simha* (leo), *vṛścika* (scorpion) and *kumbha* (aquarius) which are also the beginnings for the four months *Jyēṣṭha*, *Bhādrapada*, *Mārgaṣṛṣa* and *Phālguna*. The first of these is probably intended here.

(Its) boundaries (are as follows): On the east, the Çālmali-tree³⁵ on the big dike; on the south-east, the Çālmali-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river Brahmaputra) by the anchorage of the boats for the Pāṭhi fish of the Rūṣi-class;³⁶ on the south the Badari-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the south-west the Kāçimbala-tree by the same anchorage of boats; on the west the Āçvatha-tree standing on the steep bank (of the river); at the bend to the north-west, the dike of the fields, as well as a Kāçimbala-tree; on the north-west the Hijjala-tree on the dike of the fields; at the bend to the east and north, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çālmali-trees; further at the bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Kāçimbala-trees; at the slight bend to the east and south, the dike of the fields and a pair of Çālmali-trees; on the north, the Kāçimbala-tree on the big dike; and on the north-east, a Vētasa-tree on the big dike.

The Seal.

Hail! The lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa, the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, the illustrious Ratnapāla Varma Dēva.

II. THE SUĀLKUCI GRANT.

This grant and its seal exactly resemble the Gauhaṭi and Bargāon grants, as may be seen from the photographs (Plates XII and XIII). The plates measure $12\frac{1}{8}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches and are protected by a slightly raised rim on all four sides. The seal measures $4\frac{3}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The grant is in a rather bad state of preservation. Originally there were three plates. The first plate is missing, and consequently the inscription on the outer (or obverse side) of the second plate has greatly suffered from corrosion. In addition, there has been applied much injudicious cleaning, before the plates were placed in my hands, in consequence of which the inscription throughout the grant has been rendered very difficult of decipherment. In fact, it would have been impossible to fully decipher it, but for the help afforded by the Bargāon grant, with the greater part of which happily the Suālkuci grant is

³⁵ The trees here mentioned are: Çālmali, *Bombax malabaricum*; Badari, *Zizyphus Jujuba* or Jujube tree; Kāçimbala, an inferior kind of Çimbala, which I cannot identify; Āçvatha, *Ficus religiosa*; Hijjala, *Barringtonia acutangula*; Vētasa, *Calamus Rotang*.

³⁶ The *pāṭhi* is a kind of sheat-fish (*Silurus Pelorinus*), also called *pāṭhina*, and in Bargālī *rūyāl*. The term *rūṣi* I cannot identify; it might be connected with Sanskrit *rōhiṣa*.

identical. The only difference appears to be in the statements referring to the land and the person to whom the land was granted.

The two sides of the first (originally second) plate have 19 lines each. The second (originally third) plate has 7 lines. The inscription on the obverse of the former plate probably commenced with the word *phala* on l. 21 of the obverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The reverse of that plate commences with the word [*pri-*] *yānuvarttanam*, the syllable *pri* being at the end of the obverse side; and this word stands on line 43 of the reverse of the second plate of the Bargāon grant. The formal part of the Suālkucī grant ends in its 37th line (the last but one on the reverse side of the existing first plate) with the phrase *ṣāsanī-kṛtya*, which stands in the 58th line (the first of the 3rd plate of the Bargāon grant). From here the remainder of the Suālkucī grant is occupied with the portion peculiar to it, describing the grantee and the granted land.

The mechanical execution of the Suālkucī grant is, if anything, still more slovenly and inaccurate than that of the Bargāon grant. A glance over the extracts, given below, will show numerous blunders. There are, however, a few variants, which appear to be genuine differences of composition; e.g., l. 14, *kalahaṁsa-gāminī* (for *kalahaṁsa-gāminī*) 'females walking like kalahaṁsa geese,' l. 24, *Bhīṣmō dhanuṣi*; or which actually offer more suitable readings, as in l. 11, *kṛḍā-ṣakuni* (for *kṛīḍā-ṣakuni*), and in l. 33, *mahiṣ-āj-āvika*.

Palaeographically the Suālkucī grant does not differ in any way from the Bargāon grant. The guttural nasal *ṅ* is throughout made without a ringlet. Only once, in l. 12, *taṅka*, it is represented by the anusvāra; but this case is not above suspicion, because the reading here is defective; see the extract below. The anusvāra is formed by a ringlet and placed above the line. The special final form for *n* occurs in l. 10, *jānapadān*, and l. 11, *prabhṛtin* and *survūn*. The special final form of *t* occurs in l. 21, *bhṛt*, and in l. 34 'bhūt. The special final form of *m* occurs, twice, in ll. 23 and 24 *vairyam*; as a rule, however, the anusvāra is used; thus in l. 9, *maṇḍalaṁ*, l. 10, *alaṅkāraṁ*, l. 16, *sārthānām*, and l. 23, *gambhīrya[n]*, where the Bargāon grant has the special form. The initial short *i*, made by two ringlets placed above a hook, occurs in ll. 3 and 34, *iti*, l. 40, *iṣṭa*; but in l. 21, the hiatus with *iva*, which the Bargāon grant shows, is avoided in the Suālkucī grant by the insertion of a euphonic *r*. The avagraha occurs in l. 25, *ṣūryō'ri*, where it is omitted in the Bargāon grant. It appears also to be intended, in l. 40, by the mark of interpunctuation.

Regarding the probable date of the Suālkucī grant, see the remarks on the Bargāon grant. It is not dated in any era, but professes to have been issued in the 26th year of the reign of Ratnapāla.

In the following transcript I shall only quote such portions of the Suālkucī grant as differ in any respect from the corresponding portions of the Bargāon grant, or as show the same irregularities. The portion peculiar to the Suālkucī grant is transcribed in full.

TEXT.¹

Second Plate: Obverse.

- 1, phala etc., ending with samprāptā-lakṣmyāḥ sthitam=i- (see Bargāon grant, ll. 21 and 22).
- 2, va apparently ratnōpamō narapati etc. (cf. l. 23.)
- 4, padma-rāgī cōbhētā vīra-vaṇijām nikaraiḥ etc. (cf. ll. 25, 26).
- 5, bhānuḥ samvōṣya tā (sic) etc. (cf. l. 127).
- 6, sat-ōpāyanī sa-mada etc., omitting kṛta (cf. l. 29).
- 7, syāndi-dāmvu (sic) samupasamitu (sic) luṭṭanal-lampāta etc. (cf. ll. 29, 30).
- 8, ... nivāsa-yōgyam | sundarī-chudhā (sic) sikhar-ādhi-rudha-sahasr-ānta etc. (cf. ll. 31, 32).
- 9, sthali-rpḥam | kānanēm=iv=ānēka-bhōgi-sata nabhō-vammēvāpta (sic) (cf. l. 32, 33).
- 11, kṛdā-ṣakuni-drḍha² prajvarēṇa etc. (cf. l. 34).
- 12, Kēralē | sa-calā-ṣilājatuh nā (sic) Vāhika-taṅka etc., omitting Tāika (cf. l. 35).
- 13, rājajakṣmaṇā | vakṣaḥ | kapāta etc. (l. 35, 36).
- 14, kalahansa-gāminī | kulah kuṇita-prēṣala (sic) ōrmī | ṣikar-āsāram=upaṣamitā etc. (cf. ll. 36, 37).
- 15, ādhirudha | paṭē nākiṣa (sic) (cf. ll. 37, 38).
- 76, anēkamanakṣa-pati etc. (cf. l. 39).
- 17, adhyuvāsyā (sic) | yaṣṭiṣu |³ n-ēndrayēṣu etc. (cf. l. 40).

Second Plate: Reverse.

- 20, y-ānuvarttanam | ... piṣitā svāpadēṣu | ... Vāsav-āsparddhini | etc., omitting ṣitā (cf. ll. 43, 44).
- 21, ndalam | ṣatru-sarasām darppita mārtaṇḍa r=iva bhū-bhṛt-chirō-nivēṣita-pādām | ōdbhāṣana-lā- (cf. ll. 44, 45).

¹ From the original plates.

² The akṣara *ḍha* stands below the line.

³ This mark of interpunctuation is placed almost regularly after each clause.

- 22, laçaç⁴=ca kāmārūpā | nandi dānavāri | paruṣōttamō
(sic) py=adanārddanō | etc. (cf. ll. 46, 47).
- 23, pi mattēha-gāmi ya | sā rūpā | gambhīrya | ... āsansi-
vairyam | etc. (cf. ll. 47, 48).
- 24, ndi-vairyam | yaçaṣi | Bhiṣmō dhanuṣi | etc. (cf. ll. 48, 49).
- 25, Çūryō'ri-tamasi ⁵ etc. (cf. l. 50).
- 26, sampadī ya | pādānudhyātaḥ paramēçvaraḥ parama-satāra-
(sic) (cf. ll. 50, 51).
- 27, çrīmān=Ratnapāla-varmma-dēvaḥ kuçali || ॐ || Kala-
- 28, ṅgā-viṣay-āntaḥ-pāti-dhānya-tri-sahasr-ōtpattika-ha-kṛṣṭā⁶-
bhūmau yathāyatham samupasthita-v(b)rā-
- 29, hmaṇ-ādi etc. (cf. l. 54).
- 33, nānā-nimitt mahiṣ-āj-āvika-pracāra-prabhṛtinām etc.
(cf. ll. 57 58).
- 34, çāsani-kṛtya || ⁶ Bhāradvāja-sa-gōtrō Vājasaneyi Çṛkāṇva⁷
çākhō'bhūt | bhatṭō V(b)ala-dēva iti khyāta-
- 35, ḥ çruta-vinaya-sampannaḥ || [1 ||] Āsīt-pratihata-narakō v(b)a-
hu-vibudha-vandya-māna-carana-yugmaḥ | × × × × × ma ×
× × ×.⁸
- 36, s=tat-putrō Vāsudēv-ākhyah || [2 ||] Lakṣmīr=iva jana-sēvyā
bhāry-āsīd=asya vallabhā sādhi | c=Chṛppāyik=ēti viditā sad-
dharmā va-
- 37, rṇa-bhūṣaṇā⁹ ramyā || [3 ||] ¹⁰Tāsyām=ajāyata sūtō bhuvi Kāma-
dēvaḥ çaktyā¹¹ manō-ramatayā jita-kāma-dēhaḥ | kāntiḥ
- 38, samasta vibhūṣita-dyauḥ || [4 ||] ¹²Pitrōḥ svam=punyaṃ=uddiçya
¹³ × × × × ×

Third Plate: Obverse.

- 39, — ॐ — | mayā dattā dvijāy=āsyai rājyē ṣaḍviṇṣad-āv(b)dikē
|| [5 ||] Asyās=simā pūrvvēṇa Candē-naukī(nā)¹⁴

⁴ The first akṣara ça is superfluous.

⁵ Perhaps read *hala-kṛṣṭa*.

⁶ Metre of verses 1-3: *Āryā*.

⁷ Read *Çṛkāṇva*.

⁸ Ten akṣaras are here illegible.

⁹ The reading is uncertain.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasanta-tilakā*.

¹¹ Reading uncertain.

¹² Metre: *Glōka*.

¹³ Here 8 akṣaras, or a quarter-verse, are illegible.

¹⁴ The bracketed portions are uncertain.

- 40, (n=s)aha-sīmni iṣṭak(ēndrasy)=ōpari ṣa(va)ra-mūla¹⁵ | khōḍ-
āmv(b)ra-vṛkṣau | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna (dakṣi¹⁶)-pāṭi-nauki-sa-
41, ha-sīmni Vētasā-vṛkṣah | dakṣiṇēna Śadhava-nauki-saha-sīmni
Hijala-vṛkṣah | dakṣiṇa-paṇcimēna (Bhaya)ka)-
42, ma-vṛkṣah | paṇcimēna Candē-nauki-saha-sīmni adhunā-rōpita-
Cālmali-vṛkṣah | paṇcim-ōttarēna Kalāṅgā-
43, daṇḍi-dakṣiṇa-pāṭah | pūrvva-ga-vakrēna Śadhava-Kalāṅgā-
daṇḍi-dakṣiṇa-pāṭa-sṭha-Cōraka-vṛkṣah | dakṣiṇa-ga-vakrē-
44, ṇa kula-sōnt-ōttara-pāṭah | pūrvva-ga-vakrēna Śadhava-kula-
sōnt-ōttara-pāṭa-sṭha-Varuṇa-vṛkṣah | uttara-ga-vakrēna Hija-
45, la-vṛkṣah | uttarēna Diyamv(b)ārāñjal-ōttara-pāṭah | uttara-
pūrvvēṇ=āli-mastaka-Vētasāṣ=c=ēti ||

The Seal.

- (1) Ōm svasti Prāgyōtiṣ-ādhipaty-anva-
(2) yō mahārāj-ādhirāja-ṣri-Ratna-
(3) pāla-varmma-dēvaḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Second Plate : Reverse.

(Line 34; verse 1.) There was a learned Brāhman, called Bala-dēva, full of holy lore and good conduct, who belonged to Bhāradvāja's gōtra and the Çrikāṇṭha ṣākhā of the Vājasaneyins.

(2) He had a son, Vāsudēva by name,.....¹⁷, who (by his sanctity) had exempted himself from hell, and whose feet were revered by many learned men.

(3) He had a loving and chaste wife who, like Lakṣmī (the goddess of good fortune), was honoured by the people. She was known by the name of Chēppāyikā,¹⁸ a woman charming, true in faith, and an ornament to her caste.

(4) From her was born a son Kāmadēva who on earth by his power and his charm excels Kāma, the god of love; for his beauty, brilliant like the moon, and illuminating the heavens, incessantly wanders through the whole world.

¹⁵ Probably read mūlē 'khōḍ-āmbra.

¹⁶ Perhaps read dakṣiṇa.

¹⁷ Here the original text is illegible. There are 11 akṣaras—all short, as the metre shows,—of which only one (the seventh) *ma* is legible.

¹⁸ This appears to be a vernacular name, the Sanskrit equivalent of which I do not know.

(5) With a view to my parents' as well as my own welfare,.....
, (this land) is given by me to this Brāhman, in the twenty-sixth year of my reign.

Its boundaries are (as follows): On the East, at the anchorage of the boats of the Candē men, and at the foot of the Saravā above the brickfield there are a walnut and a mango tree. On the North-east, at the anchorage of the boats of the men (located) on the southern terrace, there is a Vētasa-tree.¹⁹ On the South, at the anchorage of the boats of the Sadhava men, there stands a Hijjala-tree. On the South-west, there stands a Bhayakama(?)tree. On the West, at the anchorage of the boats of the Candē men, there stands the Īalmali-tree which has been recently planted. On the North-west, there is the southern terrace of the boatmen of Kalaṅgā. At the bend on the East, there is the Cōraka tree, standing on the southern terrace of the boatmen of the Sadhava (portion of) Kalaṅgā. At the bend on the South, there is the northern terrace of the Sōnta²⁰ of the (river's) bank. At the bend on the East, there is the Varuṇa-tree, standing on the northern terrace of the Sōnta of the Sadhava (portion of the) river's bank. At the bend on the North, there is a Hijjala tree. On the North, there is the northern terrace of the Diyambārāñjala, and on the North-east, a Vētasa-tree on the highest point of the dike.

The Seal.

Ōm! Hail! the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, of the illustrious race of the lords of Prāgjyōtiṣa, the illustrious **Ratnapāla Varma Dēva**.

¹⁹ Regarding the identity of the trees in this list, see *ante*, page 120, footnote 35. Of the Bhayakama tree I can make nothing, but the akṣaras *bhayaka* are uncertain. I am unable to identify the Cōraka tree. It is commonly identified with *Trigonella corniculata* or *Andropogon acicularis*; these, however, are mere plants.

²⁰ I do not know what *sōnta* means. It corresponds to *duṇḍi* in the preceding clause.

A Note on the Identity of the great Tsang-po of Tibet with the Dihong.—By
SARAT CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E., Rai Bahādur.

[Read February, 1897.]

Sir Clements Markham, President of the Royal Geographical Society in his learned introduction to "Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet," regarding the course of the Tsang-po wrote as follows:—"Beyond the point where the Lhasa route crosses the river, in longitude $90^{\circ} 40'$ E., the course of the Brahmaputra within the mountains is entirely unknown for a distance of about 400 miles, when, under the name of Dihong, the mighty stream emerges into the valley of Assam and becomes the Brahmaputra of the plains. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt that the Tsang-po of great Tibet and the Brahmaputra of the plains are one and the same river."

This question has occupied the attention of geographers for upwards of a century. In his instructions, dated 1774, Warren Hastings specially enjoined Mr. Bogle to inform himself respecting the course of the Brahmaputra. D'Anville, and afterwards Klaproth, believed that the Tibet river was the upper course of the Irrawaddy. In 1825 Captains Bulton and Wilcox were sent to explore its course. Bulton followed up the course of the Dihong, until he was stopped by wild tribes, while Wilcox crossed the water-parting towards Burma, and reached the banks of the Irrawaddy. From the point reached by Bulton on the Dihong, to the place where Manning crossed the Tsang-po, there is an interval of about 400 miles, and a difference of level of 11,000 feet. This interval was entirely unknown till 1882 when I explored up to Sangri Khamar, a place situated to the east of the town of Chethang on the Tsang-po where it crosses 92° Lg., and Lama Ugyen Gyatsho, about 50 miles further east up to the confines of the province of Kongbu; and Kunthup has done, though not scientifically, further 200 miles, so that out of 400 now only about 50 miles remain to be explored.

In July 1880, a Lama of Gya-rong was despatched by the late

Captain Harman from Darjeeling to Tibet with orders to explore the country below Gyala Sing-dong and trace the great Tsang-po to the plains of India, or failing this, to throw marked logs into the stream at the lowest point reached. It was intended that due notice should be given by the Lama to Captain Harman of the period during which the logs were daily to be cast into the river, so that he might set watches at the place where the Dihong debouches into Assam, and thus prove the identity or otherwise of the great river of Tibet with the Brahmaputra. Kunthup, a native of Sikkim, who had previously accompanied the explorer Nima Sring to Gyala Sing-dong and who has since traversed Bhutān with Rinzing, was sent with the Gya-rong Lama as assistant. The proposed arrangements for casting logs into the Tsang-po fell through owing to the delinquency of the Lama, who having sold Kunthup as a slave in the Pema-koi country decamped to his home in Gya-rong within the Chinese frontier.

Kunthup having escaped from the hands of his master, reached Onlek a short stage from Mir Padam, or Miri Padam, a village situated on a plain on the Tsang-po, a resort of traders from Assam, and the abode of the Miri and Padam tribes, who are known to inhabit the country near the place where the Dihong breaks through the hills into Assam. He was informed at Onlek that Miri Padam was about three days' journey or 35 miles from the nearest plains of India. Kunthup also saw the haze of India from Onlek in an easterly direction when looking down the river. According to native report and also legend, the Tsang-po enters a deep rocky gorge at the foot of a rocky mountain which has the appearance of a lion's face and is therefore called Sing-dong, from *sing* a lion and *dong* a face. Kunthup describes the falls of the Tsang-po below the Pema-koi monastery as a cascade of some 150 feet in height, and mentions the prismatic colours of the spray hanging over the dark basin or lake below the cliff. This rock is called Shin-jē-shējal, *i. e.*, the place of interview with the Lord of the Dead. *Shin* the dead, *jē* lord, and *shē-jal* an interview.

Since then Mr. Needham, a political officer, resident near Sudya in Assam, has explored a part of the mountainous country, inhabited by Mishmi and other wild tribes, up to the borders of Za-yul, but has not succeeded in following up the course of the Dihong. The inscription before us and the letter of Mr. Barnes, quoted below, go to prove that the Dihong is the great Tsang-po, as it was conjectured by the late General Walker. The wooden block on which the inscription is, came down from the Tsang-po. It must have belonged to some one of the Nig-ma monasteries of Tibet or to the monastery of Pema-koi, the last of the Buddhist institutions of Tibet, situated to the further East of

looked like ink. Moreover, though no one could say what the writing was by mere inspection of the block; some Khamptis on seeing a print taken from it, declared that it was a Lama, *i.e.*, Tibetan, writing. You will observe that the lines are similar, so that a translation of one will give the meaning of the whole. I should be obliged if you would send me a translation and also inform me what the block was used for. If my conjecture that it was used for printing from is wrong and the Khamptis have misled me, I can send you a rubbing of the block.

"The block is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick and it has no marks on the sides or back to show that it has ever been fastened to anything else. It is supposed to have been brought down the Dihong by the last flood, which was probably caused by the breaking through of a dam formed across the Dihong by a former landslip. The flood rose to a great height in one night in fine weather and no other river came down in flood except the Dihong. The piece of wood was found by an Assamese who was looking for firewood."

Numismatic Notes and Novelties, No. III.¹ Ancient and Mediæval India.—

By VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S.

(With Plate XIV.)

[Read April, 1898.]

INDO-BACTRIAN.

I.

TELEPHUS.

Copper or bronze, rectangular, measuring .95 by .85 inch (= about 25 × 21 m.m.), and about .15 thick. Weight 131 gr. [RAWLINS].

Obv. Zeus (or king) seated l., on throne with back; his r. hand advanced; in his l. sceptre.

Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (left) ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ (top) [Τ]ΗΛΕΦΟΥ (right).

Rev. Figure (? female) to r., seated in crouching attitude, with r. arm extended; l. arm not visible.

Kharōṣṭhī legend, *Maharajasa* (on right) *Kalīṇākrama* (? on top) *sa Tēliphasa* (damaged, on left).

This very remarkable piece has recently been obtained by Mr. J. P. Rawlins at Haripur in the Hazāra District of the Panjab.

The figure of Zeus resembles that on the reverse of the ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ coins of Hermæus (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 65, Pl. XV, 7). The reverse device is unique, and I am unable to explain it.

The reading of the king's name in Greek is certain. The Kharōṣṭhī equivalent could not be deciphered without the help of the Greek.

The coinage of Telephus is of extreme rarity, and has heretofore been known in silver only. The Elliot hemidrachm in the Bodleian cabinet was considered unique until Von Sallet identified two duplicates of it among the unnamed coins of the Guthrie collection at Berlin (Von Sallet, p. 131).

Professor Gardner (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 171) describes the Bodleian specimen as follows:—

¹ No. I. appeared in this *Journal* for 1897, Vol. LXVI, Part I, p. 1 ff.; No. II, appeared on p. 298 ff., of the same.

Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ. Giant (Skythes ?), his body ending in three serpents; holds in each hand, hammer (?)

Rev. Kharoṣṭhī legend, *Maharajasa palanakramasa* (or perhaps, *pālanakṣamasa*) *Teliphasa*. Helios radiate, facing, clad in tunic and chlamys, holds long sceptre; beside him male figure wrapped in mantle, wearing wreath, or horned; in field, mon. Weight 37. Diam. .7.

The long epithet which is the Prākṛit equivalent of *εὐεργέτου* appears to be the same on the new coin as on the previously known hemidrachms. The reading is unfortunately doubtful.

Lassen read *parakramasa*, which, as Von Sallet remarks, is certainly erroneous.

Cunningham suggested *kalānakramasa*. Von Sallet reads *kalana-* (or *kalaka-*) *kramasa*.

I agree that the first character is *ka*, and that the second consonant is *l*. But the new coin shows a short vertical stroke across the horizontal line of the *l*, which converts the character into *li*, or *lē*.

The third character, a hook turned to the right, is certainly either the cerebral *ṛ*, or the dental *n*. The first element of the word therefore reads *kalina*, or *kalēna*.

Lengthening the vowels it may be read as *kālīna*, (or *kālēna*), and the whole compound taken as *kālīnakramasa*. Mr. Bendall's *pālanakṣamasa* does not seem to be admissible. But, though *kālīnakramasa* seems to be a good reading of the letters, I do not understand how that form can be used as a translation of *εὐεργέτου*, 'benefactor.'¹

INDO-BACTRIAN.

II.

PEUKELAUS.

Copper or bronze, square. Diameter .95 × .85. Weight 142 gr. From Bannū District, west of the Indus. [RAWLINS].

Obv. Male figure, to front, looking l., wearing hat and short coat.

Legend, [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ] ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΥΚ[Ε-ΛΑΟΥ]

Rev. City, turreted, standing, with r. hand outstretched over mon., and palm over l. shoulder.

Kharoṣṭhī legend, [*Maha*] *rajasa dhramikasa tradatasa Peukalaūsa*.

This interesting coin is unfortunately in poor condition, and a photograph of it cannot be distinct.

The coins of Peukelaus were published for the first time recently by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, who briefly noticed two specimens, (apparently obtained at Peshāwar?), of which one belonged to Sir Alexander

[¹ I have not the slightest doubt that the reading of this word is *kalānakramasa*, or in Sanskrit *kalyāṇakarmaṇaḥ*, which corresponds exactly to the Greek *εὐεργέτου*.—Ed.].

Cunningham, and the other to Mr. L. White King.¹ The coin now published is, therefore, the third known specimen.

Cunningham called the figure on the obverse Apollo, and that on the reverse Demeter. I cannot say whether or not the figures were the same as those on Mr. Rawlins' coin. I cannot find the obverse figure on any other Bactrian coin.

The reverse figure is that of a turreted personified city, as on the square bronze coins of Hippostratus, with Triton obv. (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 60, Pl. XIV, 6). The mon. on the coin of Mr. Rawlins' is the same as that on the coin of Hippostratus with horseman reverse (*ibid.* Pl. XIV, 6).

It is clear, therefore, that Peukelaus was approximately contemporary with Hippostratus.

The legends ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and *dhramikasa tradatasa* indicate that the period of Hippostratus and Peukelaus is not far removed from that of Menander. The same inference is suggested by the use in the Greek legend of the minute dot form of *omikron*.

The early part of the Greek legend is illegible, but the word ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ can be read, and most of the letters of the Kharoṣṭhi legend can be made out on the original coin. The king's name is certain, ΠΕΥΚ, in Greek, and *Peūk* in Kharoṣṭhi, being distinct.

The name Peukelaus necessarily recalls to the mind that of the city Peukelaïtis or Peukelaotis, mentioned by several Greek writers. Arrian tells us that in the dominions of the Assakenoi (probably the Açvakas) there was a great city called Massaka, the capital, and that, there was another city of great size, called Peukelaïtis, not far from the west bank of the Indus.²

This city seems to be the same which is described by Hiuen Tsiang under the name of Po-shi-kie-lo-fa-ti, or Puṣkalāvati, which was situated across a great river about 9 miles (50 *li*) north-east of Kaniṣka's famous monastery at or near Peshāwar. The "great river" must be the Kābul. The distance stated by the Chinese pilgrim indicates that the site is to be looked for at the Nicetta or Nisattha of the maps rather than at Hashtnagar, where it is placed by Cunningham.³

If Peukelaïtis and Puṣkalāvati are identical, which is not exactly proved, it seems quite possible that the Greek name may be derived from the name of the king Peukelaus, and not, as has hitherto been assumed, from a Prakrit form of Puṣkalāvati.

¹ *Num. Chronicle* for 1896, p. 269.

² McCrindle "Megasthenes and Arrian," p. 180. Arrian was born about A.D. 90, and lived to an advanced age. The date of king Menander is approximately B.C. 100.

³ "Reports" II, 90; XIX, 96-110: Vivien de St. Martin in Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, III, 308.

NORTHERN SATRAPS.

III

SATRAP TARAKI.

Copper, circular; diam. .6. Wt. 19 gr. obverse slightly convex, and reverse concave. Thin. [RAWLINS].

Obv. Bust to r., bare-headed, or wearing closefitting cap. Traces of Brāhmī letters in front of face. Dotted circle.

Rev. Legend in two lines, occupying field, in border :—

[महाक्ष]त्रप, [*Mahākṣa*]trapa.

तरकि Taraki.

This remarkable coin comes from the Bannū District. The characters are those of the northern alphabet of about the beginning of the Christian era, and closely resemble those on the known coins of the Northern Satraps of Mathurā.

KUŠANA.

IV

KADPHISES I.

A. Copper, Diameter .8. Wt. 63 gr. Rather thin coin, without rim. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. Bust to r., apparently bareheaded, Greek legend on r. margin, ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟΥ.

Rev. Soldier marching to r., wearing crested broad-brimmed hat, and armed with a long spear and convex shield.

Kharoṣṭhī legend—*la kaūsa kuṣa*—.

V B. Copper, Diameter .7. Wt. 73 gr. Thick coin, with raised rim on reverse. [TALBOT.]

Obv. Bust to r., with a more Parthian appearance than that of A. Greek legend not distinctly legible, though apparently the same as on A.

Rev. Device as on A, in better preservation. Kharoṣṭhī legend in perfectly preserved letters, *Kaūsa kuṣanasa*.

The two coins above described have been sent to me by their owners from the Hazāra District. Mr. Talbot's coin first arrived, and was not fully intelligible until Mr. Rawlins' specimen was received.

The Greek legend *Kozoulo Kad* proves that the coin must be assigned to Kozoulo or Kozoula (Kh. *Kujula*) Kadphises, and not to Kadaphes, on whose coins the tribal name is written with the initial aspirate (Gr. *χοπανου* and Kh. *Khuṣanasa*), and the name or title of the king is written *Kuyula* in Kharoṣṭhī and *Kozola* in Greek, instead of the corresponding *kujula* and *kozoulo* or *kozoula* on the coins of Kadphises I. But, as will be shown later, it is possible that Kadphises I. and Kadaphes may be identical.

The Kharoṣṭhī legend on these coins is new. The reading *kaūsa* is perfectly certain; the first character is *ka*, the second is initial *u*, and the third is *sa*. The A specimen preserves a character in front of

kaüsa, which seems to be *la*, the last syllable of *kujula*. I interpret *kaüsa* as an abbreviated genitive corresponding to *Kadphison* in the Greek.

The reverse device is as novel as the legend.

When about to send this paper to the press I found that two coins of this type, (though not quite identical) had already been described by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, p.p. 46, 64, Pl. xiv. (iv), 5, 6.)

He describes the king's head as "helmeted" and reads the Greek legend as ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑ.....ΚΟΡΣΑΝ: and the Kharōṣṭhī legend as *kuyula kasasa kuṣana Yavūasa*. The second word on the coins now published is certainly *kaüsa*, not *kasasa*. It is impossible to mistake the character for *u*, which is a hook with loop at foot.

The following statement compares the newly discovered coins with the related types previously known, which are:—

I. HERMÆUS.

Obv. Bust of the King r., diademed:—

· ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev. Throned Zeus.

Kharōṣṭhī legend, *Maharajasa mahatasa Heramayasa*.

B. M. Catal. p. 65; Von Sallet, p. 117). The correct reading of the Greek legend *stērossu* as an adjective in the genitive, the equivalent of *mahatasa*, is due to Mr. Rapson, in *J. R. A. S.* for 1897, p. 320.

II. HERMÆUS AND KADPHISES I.

Obv. As above, with same legend *stērossu*.

Rev. Herakles, standing, facing, diademed, holds in r. hand, club; in l., lion's skin. Kharōṣṭhī legend, *Kujula Kasasa Kuṣana yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa*.

(*B. M. Catal.*, p. 120; Von Sallet, p. 118.)

III. KADPHISES I.

Obv. Bust r., as in I and II.

Greek legend ΚΟΡΟΝΑ (or similar word, probably intended as an equivalent for *Kuṣana*—the letters vary) ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ (or ΚΟΖΟΥΛΑ) ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟΥ.

Rev. Device and Kharōṣṭhī legend as in II. (*B. M. Catal.* p. 122; Von Sallet, p. 179).

IV. KADAPHES.

Obv. Head of the king r. diad. (closely resembling that of Augustus in the later years of his life). Greek legend ΧΟΡΑΝΣΥ ΖΑΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ.

Rev. *Khuṣanasa yanasa kuyula kapheasa sacadhramaṭhidasa* in Kharōṣṭhī. King seated on chair. (*B. M. Catal.* p. 123; Von Sallet, p. 180).

The above legends clearly show that the king *Kozoula Kadphises* (No. III) was a *Kuṣana* chieftain, who reigned at first as colleague

of Hermæus, with the titles *dhramathidasa*, equivalent to *δικαίον*, and *yavugasa* (reading not quite certain), of unknown meaning.

I take *kasasa* in Nos. II and III as a genitive proper name, the equivalent of the Greek *ΚΑΔΦΙΣΟΥ*, that is to say, Kadphises in the genitive case. The nominative case of the name in the Prākṛit should therefore apparently be *Kasa*, = Kadphises.

The meaning of *kozoulo* (*kozoula*) in Greek, equivalent to *kujula* (No. II and III) and *kuyula* (No. IV), is not yet ascertained. But it seems impossible to doubt that the Greek *kozoulo*, *kozoula*, or *kozola*, (No. IV), and the Prākṛit *kujula* (Nos. II and III), and *kuyula* (No. IV) are all different forms of the same word. If Kadphises I. (No. III) is distinct from Kadaphes (No. IV) that word must be an epithet or title rather than a proper name. But I have a strong suspicion that Kadphises I. and Kadaphes were one and the same person, and that the epithet *yavugasa* of No. II is only a fuller form of the *yauasa* (= *ΖΑΟΥ*) of No. IV.

The king's name (in the genitive) is in the Prākṛit:—

Kujula Kasasa — Nos. II and III.

Kuyula Kaphsasa — No. IV.

— la Kaūsa — new coins A and B.

I propose to treat all these forms, which should be in the nominative respectively *Kasa*, *Kaphsa*, and *Kaū* (?) as variants of a simple name, written in Greek as Kadphises or Kadaphes. Cunningham also identified Kadaphes with Kadphises. "Kozola-Kadaphes I take," he observes, "to be only a variant spelling of the same king's name, on the issue of a different mint. The head seems to be imitated from the coins of Augustus, his contemporary." (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, p. 46.)

KUṢANA.

VI.

KADAPHES.

Buddha Type.

Thin copper or bronze coin; diam. .62; wt. 24 gr. Obtained on the Pūñic (Punch) border of the Hazāra District. [RAWLINS.]

Obv. King, or god, standing, wearing diadem and fillet, holding spear upright in l. hand; r. arm extended. Peculiar mon. in l. field behind figure. Greek legend, of which only *Xo* is legible, probably part of *XoPANZY*.

Rev. Seated figure of Buddha, cross-legged; r. hand raised, holding?; l. hand on hip. A triangle (? delta) under elbow of r. arm. Kharoṣṭhi legend all round margin; the only characters plainly legible being *kadaṇa* below the figure. The *ka* is certain; the *da* may possibly be *na*; and the *ṇa*, having a loop at foot, may be read as *ṇa*.

This interesting coin is closely related to, though materially

different from, the B coin of the Buddha type, of Kadaphes recently described by me.¹

That coin had the obverse device of Çiva and the bull. The coin now published has a figure standing to r., and no bull. The fragmentary Greek legend Xo induces me to ascribe the coin to Kadaphes, who transliterated *khuṣanasa* by XOPANΣY. I have already intimated that Kadaphes and Kadphises I. may prove to be the same person. I regret that I am unable to offer any interpretation of the imperfect Kharoṣṭhi legend.

KUṢANA.

VII.

HUVIṢKA.

Brass, or very pale bronze. Diameter .65. Weight 58 grs. Collected in Hazāra District. [RAWLINS].

Obv. King, seated on throne, looking r.

Three-pronged mon. to l. The plethoric figure of the king recalls the coins of Kadphises II. (*B. M. Catal.*, Pl. XXV, 6, 7).

Greek legend on l., O(?)OO; on r., OK(?)AH(?).

The coin has been worn as an ornament, and a hole above the king's head has damaged one or two letters. There are certainly two O's to l., and traces of a third. On the r., the first legible character is certainly O, and the third is A. The second and fourth are doubtful.

Rev. Two figures, standing, facing each other, the head of that to r. having been punched out. Both are clad alike in coats reaching to the knee. The figure to r. wears a sword.

Greek legend, beginning from r. top, is ΑΓΟ ΟΑΝΑΔΑΟ, which should probably be read [BIZ]ΑΓΟ ΟΑΝΑΔΑΟ. The second name is certain. The Δ is the fifth form, and the N the third form in Cunningham's table of the Indo-Scythic Greek Alphabet (*Num. Chron.* for 1892, Pl. X). The letters ΑΓΟ are also certain on the original coin.

This is a very peculiar piece. The effigy of ΒΙΖΑΓΟ (Viçakha, a son and impersonation of Skanda) has hitherto been known only on coins of Huviṣka, associated with Skanda Kumāra (ΣΚΑΝΔΟ ΚΟΜΑΡΟ); and with Mahāsēna (ΜΑΑΣΗΝΟ). (*B. M. Catal.*, p. LXVI, 149, 150; Pl. XXXVIII, 22-24).

The name ΟΑΝΑΔΑΟ is new. The closely related form ΟΑΝΙΝΔΑ (or ΟΑΝΙΝΔΟ) is found on some rare coins of Huviṣka associated with a figure of the Goddess Nike.

ΟΑΝΑΔΑΟ may possibly be only a variant of ΟΑΝΙΝΔΟ, but is more probably a male deity, the star Vanañt. The effigy on the new

¹ "Num. Notes and Novelties, No. II" in No. 4 of Part I of this *Journal* for 1897.

coin seems to be male, rather than female, and there is no *iota* in the name. I suggest this identification with reference to Dr. Stein's remarks on $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$, which are as follows:—

"With Verethraghna we may connect most appropriately the winged Goddess, who appears in the distinct type of a Nike holding wreath and trophy-stand on some rare gold coins of Oerki (see No. VIII; Cat. p. 147). Her name, which, with a slight variation, is written both $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$ and $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\circ$, induces me, in conjunction with the very characteristic type, to identify her with the female genius, whose name *vanaiñti uparatāt* 'victorious superiority' is invariably coupled in all formulas and invocations of the Avesta with that of *Verethraghna* (comp., e.g., Yaçna I. 6, Vispered I, 6, Yasht XIV, \circ).

We prefer this explanation all the more to the hitherto accepted theory, which identified $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$ with the star *Vanañt* (a male deity!), as it disposes effectually with [*sic*] the two difficulties involved by the latter; both the female representation of $\circ\text{ANIN}\Delta\text{A}$ and the *iota* of the name are now easily accounted for, the former by the feminine gender of *vanaiñti* (*uparatāt*), and the latter by the well-known phonetic influence of epenthetic *i*."¹

Inasmuch as the deity $\text{BIZAF}\circ$ is found only on coins of Huviška, and the king's effigy is more like that of Huviška than that of Kaniška, I am of opinion that this coin with the effigies of $\text{BIZAF}\circ$ and $\circ\text{ANAD}\Delta\circ$ should be ascribed to Huviška.

UNKNOWN DYNASTY (? of Odumbara.)

VIII.

BHĀNUMITRA.

Moderately thick die-struck silver (? base) coin. Diam. .75. Wt. 72 gr. [TALBOT.]

Obv. Male figure standing to l., wearing hat and tunic; l. hand on hip, r. arm extended across spear. Remains of legend outside spear. Behind figure, a snake on end.

Rev. A small elephant, with rider, in upper l. field, proceeding to l.

Legend in early Brāhmi characters ब्रीभानुमित्रस , *Çrī-Bhānumitrassa*. The word *Çrī* is faint, to the l. of the rider's head, but clearly visible on the original coin. The upper part of the *m* is separated from the lower.

The reading of the reverse legend appears to be certain. The characters seem not to be earlier than B. C. 100 or later than A. D. 100.

This coin belongs to a group which has been described by Cunningham in association with the ancient coins of Odumbara or Kāngra.

The coins described by him are those of:—

Rāja Mahādēva	...	C. Anc. I. p. 68,	Pl. IV, 5.
Rāja Rudra Varma	...	<i>ibid.</i> "	Pl. IV, 6.
Rāja Aja Mitra	...	"	p. 69, Pl. IV, 7.

¹ "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins," Stein (*Oriental and Babylonian Record*, August, 1887).

Rāja Mahi Mitra	...	<i>ibid.</i>	p. 69,	Pl. IV, 8, 9.
Rāja ? Dhara	...	"	"	Pl. IV, 10.
Rāja Bhānu Mitra	...	"	p. 70,	Pl. IV, 12.
Ditto do.	...	"	"	Pl. IV, 13.

But none of Cunningham's coins agrees exactly with Mr. Talbot's. The male figure device (which Cunningham calls reverse) of his figure 10 is identical with that of the piece now published, but the elephant side of Cunningham's coin had the legend in Kharoṣṭhi, not in Brāhmī characters.

Cunningham's fig. 12 depicts a coin which must, I think, be attributed to the same king as Mr. Talbot's coin. It is thus described:—

"Plate IV, Fig. 12. *Æ.* 0.55, weight 32 grains. Author.

Obv.—Elephant to l. Arian legend, *Rajna Bhānu Mitasa.*

Rev.—Bodhi tree and two Symbols, snake below. Indian legend, [*Rajna*] *Bhānu Mitasa.*"

The combination of the snake and elephant connects it with Mr. Talbot's coin.

But I am doubtful as to the attribution of Cunningham's figure 13, which is thus described:—

"Plate IV., Fig. 13. *Æ.* 0.4. Weight 16 grains. Author.

Obv.—Symbols as on reverse of figure 12. Indian legend *Bhānu Mitasa.*

Rev.—Rayed disc of Sun (*Bhānu*) above a Buddhist railing."

So far as I can see, the symbols on fig. 13 are not exactly the same as those on the reverse of figure 12.

In fact, the coin depicted in Plate IV, 13, is a duplicate of the small coin of Bhānumitra depicted in Plate VII, 9, among the Pañcāla or Ahichatra coins. The Mitra coins do not invariably exhibit the characteristic incuse square.

When describing a small Bull and Bodhi-tree coin of [A] gi Mitra with incuse, Cunningham (Pl. VII, 16, page 83) observes that "this coin may, perhaps, belong to the Panjāb."

Mr. L. White King possesses two minute coins of Bhadra Ghōṣa. One, of which I have a duplicate, is like Cunningham's Pl. VII, 11, with incuse distinct. The other has no distinct incuse.

The small coin of Bhānumitra figured in *J. A. S. B.* Pt. I for 1880 (Vol. XLIX), Pl. III, 8, shows the incuse square distinctly, and agrees in this respect with the ordinary Ahichatra coins. That piece was found at Ahichatra. Otherwise it agrees with Cunningham's Pl. IV, 13, and VII, 9, neither of which has any distinct incuse square.

Cunningham's treatment of the various Mitra coins of Ayōdhyā, Ahichatra, and the Panjāb leaves much to be desired.

The Ahichatra coins were very fully described by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Carlleyle in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIX, for 1880, Pt. I. pp. 27, 87, 138, Plates III, VII, VIII, IX, XVI, XVII.

The relations between the various groups of Mitra coins are extremely obscure.

The Lahore Museum (*Catal.*, Part III, p. 126) possesses three specimens of Bhānumitra's coinage. No. 1, apparently a copper coin, weight 15 grains, and diam. .53. The type seems to be the same as that of Mr. Talbot's coin. No. 2, weight 35, diam. .50, resembles Cunningham's Pl. IV, 12. No. 3, weight 42, diam. .6, seems to be a slight variety of No. 2.

The Indian Museum seems to possess no coins of Bhānumitra.

IX.

TĪRAMĀNA.

Copper. Diam. .65. Wt. 55 gr. Bought from Mr. Rodgers, who obtained the coin at Hōshyārpur in the lower hills of the Jālandhar District, Panjab. [V. A. SMITH.]

Obv. King standing to front, r. arm bent, and probably holding arrow or sword; body bent at waist; l. hand grasping by middle bow with string turned outwards. Obscure, illegible characters under king's arm.

Rev. Sun in upper field, Below, तौर, *Tōra*, in large bold characters.

Dotted circle.

This coin is a variety of the hitherto unique coin belonging to Mr. Theobald, which was published by Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280, Pl. IX. (VII), fig. 17, and again by me in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 198, with woodcut. The coin first published had the string of the bow turned inwards.

X.

WHITE HUN.

Copper or bronze, rather thick; diam. .65; weight 49 gr. [RAWLINS].

Obv.—Bust to r. Faint legend in small apparently Brāhmī characters in front of face, पल—*Pala*—?

Rev.—Device obscure; it seems to me intended for a cock standing to l., with tail raised. Dotted circle.

This coin clearly belongs to the White Hun group, but I cannot further assign it.

XI.

UNKNOWN.

Base metal. Diam. .55. Wt. 43 gr. From Rāwalpindī. [V. A. SMITH].

Obv.—Concave, with a peculiar wheel-like device.

Rev. Convex blank.

I cannot guess what this piece is, and am not certain that it is a coin.

It seems to belong to the class noticed by Thomas in the following words :—

“In this instance, the square die is driven home upon one surface so as to give the coin a concavo-convex form, while the opposite face remains blank. The symbol within the square has the appearance of a rude quatrefoil. These coins are, as far as I know, unpublished; I have never met with any in the entire course of my own somewhat comprehensive search after local antiquities, nor am I aware from what section of the country the examples I quote were obtained; they now form part of the late Lord Auckland's collection in the British Museum. They are composed of silver considerably alloyed, and weigh from thirty-five up to forty-one grains.” (*Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I, 213).

The Later Mughals (1707–1803).—By WILLIAM IRVINE, *Bengal Civil Service (Retired)*.

[Read March, 1898.] *

The following article is in continuation of that appearing on pp. 136–212 of the *Journal* for 1896, Vol. LXV Part I.

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CHAPTER IV.

Farrukhsiyar.

1. THE MARCH FROM ĀGRAH TO DIHLI.

In the confusion and the darkness the Jāts plundered impartially the baggage of both armies. No fitting resting-place for the prince could be found, nothing but a dirty screen, all black from the smoke of cooking, and a small wooden platform. On this latter Farrukhsiyar seated himself and received the homage of his officers. It was not till three days afterwards that Sa’d-ullāh Khān (son of ‘Ināyat-ullāh Khān), who had been Jahāndār Shāh’s Lord Steward, produced the late sovereign’s duplicate set of tents, which owing to their erection within a

walled garden, had escaped the plunderers. These were put up for Farrukhsiyar on the site of Jahāndār Shāh's encampment.¹

Having spent the night of the battle (14th Zū-l-Hijjah, 11th January, 1713), in the small tent erected on the field, the next morning, after a formal enthronement, Farrukhsiyar offered up his thanksgiving at the shrine of Shāh Mushtāq, and then marched one and a half kōs to his camp. The Tūrānī leaders, Cīn Qilic Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn, with many others who had served in the army of Jahāndār Shāh, tendered their submission. Shari'at-ullāh Khān ('Ubaid-ullāh) was also presented by Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān. Written orders were issued to Asad Khān and Muḥammad Yār Khān at Dihlī, and to many other shūbadārs, enjoining them to seize the fugitive Jahāndār Shāh wherever he might be found. At the end of the day His Majesty paid a visit to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān who was confined to his tents by his wounds. After the battle was over, he had been found about midnight lying naked and insensible under a heap of the slain. When informed of the victory, new life was breathed into him. The following day, the 15th (12th January), the emperor attended at the large mosque attached to Akbar's tomb at Bihiṣṭābād Sikandra, and there heard the *Khuṭbah* read in his own name. More nobles and leaders now presented themselves. On this date 'Abd-ullāh Khān brought in as a prisoner A'azzu-d-dīn, who had been found hiding in the underground chambers of the mansion at Āgrah known as Dārā Shukōh's.² Public rumour asserted that Jahāndār Shāh and Zū-l-fiqār Khān had gone to Dihlī; the latter had been seen at Mathurā on the way to that place.³

On the 17th (14th January), a move was made to the neighbourhood of Bāgh Nūr Manzil, also known as Bāgh Dahrah.⁴ The stream of officers lately serving under Jahāndār Shāh continued to flow into the camp. As there was still great uncertainty about the future movements of Jahāndār Shāh, and a renewal of the struggle by Zū-l-fiqār Khān was feared, it was thought advisable to take steps to secure possession of the capital as quickly as possible. 'Abd-ullāh Khān

¹ Wārid, 148b.

² Yahyā Khān, 121 a, says that A'azzu-d-dīn and his wife were captured in a grove near Āgrah, and that Farrukhsiyar ordered them to be kept prisoners. Kām Rāj's story, 52 a, is that they were found in a milk-seller's house.

³ Kāmwar Khān, 126, Ijād, 100 b, Wārid, 148 a, Khāfī Khān, II, 724, 727.

⁴ Of this grove the only thing now left is a large well, which from its size is known as the well of the 52 water-bags (*Bāwān lāo kī kuā*)—*Tārīkh-i-Āgrah*, Ḥusainī press, Faṭḡarḡar, p. 28. The site is three miles south of the fort, it is now within the cantonments, and is called *Khawāspurah* (private letter from Mirzā Wiqār 'Alī Bēg, dated 20th February, 1893). The epithet Nūr Manzil was given with reference to the Emperor Jahāngīr's name, Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, *Maḍḡiru-l-umarā*, III, 79.

was therefore invested with the usual dress of honour and despatched on this day (14th January, 1713), upon that service. With him went Cīn Qilic Khān, Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn, Hāmid Khān, Jān Niṣār Khān, Khwājā Qulī Khān, Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Sādiq, Turktāz Khān, and others. His orders were to attach all the property of the men belonging to the other side. An imperial rescript was also sent to Asad Khān by the hand of Ikhlās Khān. It was then Farrukhsiyar's intention to follow as speedily as possible with the rest of his troops.¹

On the 18th (15th January, 1713), another visit was paid to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. The 19th was passed at the Tāj, where the tombs of Shāhjahān and his queen, Mumtāz-i-Maḥal, were visited. The Government of Akbarābād was confirmed to Sayyid Amīr Khān, Thaṭhawī, or Sindhī, (grandson of Qāsim Khān, Namakin).² The jizyah, or poll-tax, was abolished after it had been levied for thirty-four years. On the 20th submissive letters were received from Asad Khān at Dihlī, reporting the imprisonment of Jahāndār Shāh and the restraint placed on Zū-l-fiqār Khān. As Farrukhsiyar could not trust Asad Khān, it was decided to await full reports from 'Abd-ullāh Khān before any further action was taken. On the 22nd the emperor attended the public prayers at the Great Mosque near the *Cauk*, or market-place, in the city of Āgrah, gold and silver coins being scattered on the way. The next day 'Abd-ullāh Khān sent the good news from Dihlī that Jahāndār Shāh had been made a prisoner and Zū-l-fiqār Khān dissuaded from continuing his resistance. As there was no longer the same pressing necessity for haste, re-assuring letters were sent to Asad Khān, and a leisurely advance to Dihlī was ordered by the usual stages.³

On the 25th (22nd January, 1713), a start was made for Dihlī, the first camp being near Sikandrah. The other marches were, 27th, Sarāe Godrayah, 1st Muḥarram, Irādatnagar, 3rd, a place near Sarāe 'Azīm-ābād, between Mathurā (Islāmābād) and Bindrāban, 5th, Siyāi, 6th Shērgarh, 8th, Shāhpur, 9th, Sultānpur, 11th, near Fathpur, 12th, near Qabūlpur, 13th, Isma'īlpur, 15th (10th February, 1713), a grove in Khizrābād, five miles south of Dihlī city.⁴

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad, 150, 151, Kāmwar Khān, 127, Ijād, 104 b, Khāfi Khān, II, 727.

² For this man, see Blochmann, *Āin*, 470, and *Ma'āşiru-l-umara*, III, 74. The rock-salt plates and bottles from which he got his nickname are described in Anand Rām's *Mirātu-l-iṣṭilāḥ*. For Amīr Khān himself, see *M-ul-U*, I, 303.

³ For abolition of *Jizyah*, see B. M. No. 1690, fol. 163.

⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 127, 128, Ijād, 105 a. Khāfi Khān, II, 728 and *Ma'āşir*, I, 318, say the army arrived on the 14th Muḥarram at Bārahpulāh, which is 1½ miles nearer the city (Carr Stephen, plate 1). Sarāe Godrayah, Irādatnagar and Shērgarh, I have not traced. Mathurā and Bindrāban are well known. Siyāi (Sceyee) and

2. 'ABD-ULLĀH KHĀN AT DIHLĪ.

We now return to Dihli. The first news of Jahāndār Shāh's defeat at Āgrah was received at Dihli after midday on the 15th Zū-l-Ḥijjah (12th January, 1713). We have already described the subsequent arrival there of Zū-l-fiqār Khān and Jahāndār Shāh, and the measures adopted by Asad Khān. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān, who started from Āgrah on the 17th arrived at Bārapula near Dihli on the 25th Zū-l-Ḥijjah. The principal men of the city came out to pay their respects,¹ and on the same day Zū-l-fiqār Khān, to whom Ikhlās Khān had been sent, rode out to the camp. His interview with the new wazir lasted over an hour. The Sayyids never doubted for a moment that Asad Khān and his son, as soon as they presented themselves, would be admitted to favour and high office. Thus they thought it wisest for their own future benefit, to put the two men under an obligation by acting as their introducers. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān promised his predecessor that, if he would entrust himself to his and his brother's care, they would arrange that he and his father should not only be presented to the new emperor, but that not a hair of their heads should be injured.² Visitors returning from the Nawāb's camp met at the Turkmān gate of the city³ the retinue of Mahābat Khān, son of Mun'im Khān, who had just been released from prison along with Jahāndār Shāh's other prisoners. Aminu-d-dīn Khān, who was one of them, found his way to Mathurā and was presented there to Farrukhsiyar on the 3rd Muḥarram (29th January).⁴

On the 26th Zū-l-Ḥijjah, 'Abd-ullāh Khān entered the city and occupied the mansion known as Ja'far Khān's.⁵ He busied himself in restoring order in the capital and the rest of the country. Khwāja Ḥusain (Khān Daurān), Ḥifẓ-ullāh Khān (son of Murtaẓā Khān), Murīd Khān and other partisans of the late emperor were seized and

Shāhpur are on Sheet No. 50, Sultānpur, Fathpur (F. Biloc, Qabūlpur, and Isma'īlpur on Sheet No. 49 of the Indian Atlas.

¹ Among others Mirzā Muḥammad, the historian, with his brother and a cousin, was presented to the Nawāb by Luṭf-ullāh Khān Ṣādiq. Bārapulah is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the Dihli gate of the modern city (Carr Stephen, Plate I and p. 209).

² Yahyā Khān, 121b, calls the overtures made by Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān to Asad Khān his "deceit" (*farīb*).

³ This gate is on the south side of the city, having the Dihli gate between it and the river. See Constable's "Hand Atlas," Plate 47, and Carr Stephen, 244.

⁴ Mirzā Muḥammad, 153, 157, Kāmwar Khān, 129, Yār Muḥammad, 26, Khāfi Khān, II, 732, *M.-ul-u.*, I, 317.

⁵ It had belonged to Kokaltāsh Khān and was sometimes called 'Alī Mardār Khān's. Aẓam Shāh had owned it in 'Ālamgir's reign—(B.M. 1690, fol. 162a). It was afterwards granted to 'Abd-ullāh Khān.

their property confiscated. The same course was adopted with the estate of the late Kokaltāsh Khān ('Ali Murād). Sabhā Cand, Zū-l-fiqār Khān's chief man of business, who had been promoted by him to the office of *dārān* of the Khālīṣah, or Imperial Revenue Office, with the title of Rājah, was summoned by 'Abd-ullāh Khān. Finding that this man was sent for, Zū-l-fiqār Khān began to fear for himself, and he told Sabhā Cand not to obey the order. 'Abd-ullāh Khān sent re-assuring messages and advised the ex-wazīr not to interfere. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was not satisfied, until in a few days *farmāns* arrived, addressed to himself and his father, promising them the new emperor's favour. Some of these letters went so far as to promise his restoration to the office of wazīr. As there was no other way out of the difficulty, Sabhā Cand was now sent in charge of Dāwar Dād Khān to Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān. Sabhā Cand was put into prison and his house confiscated.¹

3. DEATH OF ZŪ-L-FIQĀR KHĀN.

Although one month had barely elapsed since Farrukhsiyar had won an empire almost entirely by the exertions of the two Sayyid brothers, a party adverse to them had already been formed in the imperial camp. At its head was 'Ubaid-ullāh, Shari'at-ullāh Khān,² a Tūrānī, who when *qāzī* of Dhākah (Dacca) had acquired great influence over Farrukhsiyar. Allied with him were other personal friends and dependents of the new emperor, the principal man being Khwāja 'Āṣim (Ashraf Khān),³ a native of Āgrah. Shari'at-ullāh Khān, although possessing little capacity for high office, was a bold ambitious man, whose chief object was to clear his own road to power by destroying as many as possible of the old nobility, and sowing in Farrukhsiyar's heart the seeds of suspicion against the Sayyids, whom he hoped soon to supplant.⁴

When it was known in Farrukhsiyar's entourage that Zū-l-fiqār Khān had visited 'Abd-ullāh Khān and that some kind of friendly proposals had been interchanged, it was resolved to interfere at once.⁵ The

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad, 158.

² Afterwards Mir Jumla. To give him a status in the court he had been, made *dārōgha* of the pages (Khawāṣṣ), on the 20th Zū-l-Hijjah (17th January, 1713) and the title of 'Ibād-ullāh Khān was conferred on the 26th of that month.

³ Afterwards Ṣamsāmu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, who was made *dārōgha* of the Audience Hall on the 1st Muḥarram (27th January, 1713).

⁴ Mirzā Muḥammad, 158, 159.

⁵ Yahyā Khān, 121b, makes out that Farrukhsiyar asked the Sayyids for advice as to the conduct to be pursued towards Jahāndār Shāh, Asad Khān, and Zū-l-fiqār Khān. 'Abd-ullāh Khān, Ḥusain Ali Khān and Lācīn Bēg held that on no

man selected as their envoy was one Muḥammad Ja'far, who had long been steward to Farrukhsiyar and had lately been raised to the title of Taqarrub Khān. As he was a native of Irān, it was thought that he would be more trusted than any one else by Asad Khān and Zū-l-fiqār Khān, who were also from that country. Taqarrub Khān swore the most solemn oaths on the *qurān* that no harm should happen to Asad Khān or his son. He hinted to them that it was dangerous to accept an introduction through the Sayyid brothers, as in secret Farrukhsiyar was already displeased with them, and was not likely to turn a gracious ear to any representation from them. Persuaded by these arguments, Asad Khān proposed that he and Zū-l-fiqār Khān should set out together. His son preferred that, in the first instance, Asad Khān should go alone, that they might see what sort of fate was in store for them. Asad Khān would not listen to any such proposal. He was convinced that, as their services could not be dispensed with, no harm could come to them. Finally on the 15th Muḥarram the two nobles accompanied Taqarrub Khān to the camp at Khizrābād and passed the night in their own tents, it being arranged that they should be received in the morning. Their too ready acquiescence bears out the truth of the proverb, "When Death arrives, the physician becomes a simpleton."¹

We are told by Wārid, I know not with what amount of truth, that after Zū-l-fiqār Khān's death the hand which Taqarrub Khān had employed in taking the false oath on the *qurān* began at once to wither. He could not move it, and it grew continually worse. He lived on asses' milk, he tried every remedy, nothing was of the least use. Thus the hand remained a witness to his false oath until three years afterwards his end came.²

On the 16th Muḥarram the presentation of Asad Khān and his son took place. Zū-l-fiqār Khān, as he entered the imperial enclosure, felt a presentiment of his impending doom. He said to his father that he would withdraw and greet the Emperor the next day, when on his march into the city. Asad Khān lost his temper and gave a sharp answer. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was silenced, and they entered the enclosure

account could they be allowed to live. Thereupon Farrukhsiyar decided that Asad Khān was innocent; but they were at liberty to kill the other two.

¹ Yahyā Khān, 121b, *cūn qazā āyad, ṭabīb ablah shawād*. Mirzā Muḥammad, 159, Kāmwar Khān, 129, Wārid, 113, Khāfi Khān, II, 732, 733.

² T. Kh. died on the 9th Rabi' II, 1128, 1st April, 1716, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*. Mirzā Mḥd., 261, says he died of *dīqq* (hectic fever, consumption, atrophy), of which he had been seriously ill for one year. He left sons, one of whom, Tāhir Khān, was on the 7th Jumādī II, 1128 H. created Taqarrub Khān, see Kāmwar Khān, 163, 164.

together.¹ Asad Khān went into the Justice Hall and sat down. His presence was announced to the Emperor. Farrukhsiyar came from the Chaplet tent (*tasbīh-khāna*) and Asad Khān rose, made his bow, and pronounced his salutation. The emperor advanced quickly, embraced him, took his two hands, and seated him close to himself. Many flattering remarks were pronounced and robes and jewels were brought, with which he was then and there invested. Asad Khān now said, "I have brought a culprit with me, may I hope for the pardon of his offences?" The Emperor replied, "Brother, let him be brought in." Zū-l-fiqār Khān came in, unarmed, his two hands tied together, and stood before the sovereign. Farrukhsiyar, making a gesture of repugnance at seeing his hands tied, ordered them in an agitated voice to be untied. The Khān was then told to approach. He came and fell at the emperor's feet, but he was raised up and embraced and kindly spoken to. A robe of honour and jewels were brought for him. Farrukhsiyar then, addressing Asad Khān, said that he was just on the point of starting for a visit to the shrine of Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya, ² he (Asad Khān) had better go home and "Brother," that is, Zū-l-fiqār Khān, would remain. Before their arrival, the orders for the visit to the shrine had been given, and the imperial retinue and the men of the *Haft caukī* (personal guard) had all assembled.³

Asad Khān returned to his tents and Zū-l-fiqār Khān remained in the emperor's camp. Farrukhsiyar rose and went out, saying to Zū-l-fiqār Khān, "I am going now; I must get something to eat and see "to my equipage; I will send some food for you, you can eat it here." He then went inside, leaving Zū-l-fiqār Khān seated with Khwāja 'Āsim.⁴ In a few moments trays from the imperial table were brought. Fearing that the food might be poisoned, Zū-l-fiqār Khān hesitated to eat. Khwāja 'Āsim, penetrating his thoughts, said: "If his lordship permit, this slave, too, will take a share." Thus reassured Zū-l-fiqār

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad's account of Zū-l-fiqār Khān's death was obtained from a friend, whose truthfulness he fully believed in. This gentleman had gone that morning, in Indian fashion, with a *dālī* or basket of fruit and vegetables from his own garden, to be laid at the new emperor's feet. By this means he had been admitted into the Privy Chamber and Justice Hall. Before he could come out, the approach of Asad Khān and his son was announced. When he tried to make his exit, he found that of those inside no one was allowed to leave the place. He was thus a witness of all that happened (M. Mhd., 161, 162).

² Kāmwar Khān, 130, says "the Qutbu-l-aqṭāb," i. e., the shrine of Khwāja Qutbu-d-dīn, Bakhtiyārī.

³ M. Mhd., 160-2, Ijād 119 b, Wārid, 114.

⁴ He had just been made Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Ijād, 119 a. His titles were afterwards added to, and he became Ṣamsāmu-d-daulah, Manṣūr Jang.

Khān began to eat. The Khawāja then remarked that to eat food in the tent used as Hall of Justice was not fitting, had they not better move to the screens outside and eat there? It so happened that two canvas screens had been put up in the space before the Hall of Justice, an entrance having been left at one end only. The two nobles came out. As soon as Zū-l-fiqār Khān had entered within the screens, and while Khawāja 'Āsim was still outside them, the tent-pitchers with the greatest expedition brought the screens together and closed the entrance. In an instant about two hundred men, each armed with sword and shield, sprang from their place of concealment and drew up round the screen, shoulder to shoulder, leaving no space whatever between them. When the capture was reported to Farrukhsiyar who was seated in the Chaplet tent (*tasbīḥ-khāna*), 'Ibād-ullāh Khān, dārūgha of the Pages,¹ was sent out. Entering between the screens, he said loudly, "His Majesty asks what reason there was for you to imprison Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and inflict injury on his followers. Does it accord with the rules of loyalty and of submission to a gracious master to act thus to his sons?" Zū-l-fiqār Khān answered:—

"The imprisonment of Kām Bakhsh was by his father's order; I was 'Ālamgir's servant and Kām Bakhsh, his son. If he had told me to make my father a prisoner, I should have obeyed."

After each answer 'Ibād-ullāh Khān returned to Farrukhsiyar and came back with a new demand. The questions and answers continued on this wise as follows:

"You were generalissimo and chief adviser of Muḥammad A'zam Shāh. Was it fitting for a general to flee, as you did, and leave his prince all alone?"

"As long as he was alive, I remained with him; when he was slain, what right had I to continue a contest in the field?"

"What was your quarrel with the martyred Prince, (*i.e.* 'Azimu-sh-shān, Farrukhsiyar's father)?"

"He did not look on me with favour, thus I was not in a position to join his side. All the officers of the State took one side or another. I, too, took a side; nor did I thereby commit any crime."

"Why did you kill Mukhlis Khān and Rustam Dil Khān?"

"I had nothing to do with that matter. These things were done on the advice and by the instigation of Kokaltāsh Khān."

"All the other princes survive: what was Muḥammad Karīm's offence that you should seize him, bring him to your house, and slay

¹ Afterwards Mir Jumlah, Mu'azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muzaffar Jang.

"him? Are you not aware that he was our brother, and that his blood cannot go unavenged?"¹

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, by this time, knew that his death was resolved on, and that any further display of meekness would avail him nothing. He changed his tone and returning taunt for taunt, cursed Farrukhsiyar and said, "If you want to kill me, kill me in any way you like, what is the use of all this talk." Upon this Lācīn Beg and several Qalmāq slaves² fell upon him, threw him to the ground, twisted the strap from a shield round his throat and strangled him. The others stamped upon his chest till the breath left him. But to make quite sure a dagger was plunged into his body several times. Ropes were tied to his feet and he was dragged to the outside of the railing in front of the public Audience Hall. There the body was left exposed. Officials were deputed to confiscate the houses and property of both father and son. Zū-l-fiqār Khān's retinue, which was drawn up outside the artillery park at the entrance of the camp, dispersed on hearing what had happened, and the men sought safety wherever they could find it. All this took place at the time of afternoon prayer.³

The official statement of the case against Zū-l-fiqār Khān, as found in *Ījād*, whose narrative was corrected weekly by Farrukhsiyar himself, follows the lines of the conversation reproduced above. The misleading letters and messages sent to him through Taqarrub Khān are exultingly referred to as an exhibition of consummate policy and statesmanship.⁴

4. DEATH OF JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH.

On the same day that saw the end of Zū-l-fiqār Khān (16th Muḥarram, 1125 H., 11th Feb., 1713), Saif-ullāh Khān⁵ was sent to the citadel with a letter in Farrukhsiyar's own hand-writing addressed to Muḥammad Yār Khān. The *nāẓim*, although sorrowful at Jahāndār Shāh's fate, complied with the order and admitted the messengers. When the group of men entered the prison room, Lāl Kumwār shrieked,

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad, 163-166.

² The name is sometimes given as Ilācī Bēg and Dilācīn Bēg. *Ījād*, 119 b, and Kāmwar Khān, 130, say "Nūr Bēg and other Qalmāqs of the brotherhood of Ilācīn Bēg." Khāfi Khān, II, 734, has Lācīn Bēg (Bahādūr Dil Khān) "or as some say, one of the celās." Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 172, describes the man as a servant of Khawja Quṭbu-d-dīn, son of Maulānā Sharf Husain, Kajkiyālī(?) He received the title of Bahādūr Dil Khān at the request of Mīr Jumlah.

³ M. Mḥd. 166, Khāfi Khān, II, 734.

⁴ *Ījād*, 116 a, Khizānah-i-ʿāmīrah, 28.

⁵ B.M. No. 1690, fol. 162 a says Taqarrub Khān (alias Nuṣrat Khān), Yaḥyā Bēg, was the messenger.

clasped her lover round the neck, and refused to let go. Violently forcing them apart, the men dragged her down the stairs. Then laying hands on Jahāndār Shāh, they tried to strangle him. As he did not die at once, a Mughal, with his heavy-heeled shoes, kicked him several times in a vulnerable place and finished him off. Word was sent to the *nāgim* that life was extinct, that an executioner was needed to cut off the head. Muḥammad Yār Khān, who was standing down below, bathed in cold perspiration, answered "What is left for an executioner to do? Cut off his head, and carry it to His Majesty." They cut it off. The body was then thrown into an open litter (*miyāna*) and the head placed on a tray (*khwān*). Half an hour after nightfall, they reached the camp with the lifeless head and trunk and laid them at the entrance to the emperor's tents, alongside the body of Zū-l-fiqār Khān. Lāl Kumwār was sent to the settlement of Suhāgpura, where the widows and families of deceased emperors lived in retirement.¹

5. PROCESSION INTO DIHLI.

Next morning, the 17th Muḥarram (12th February, 1713), Farrukh-siyar left Khizrābād and marching in state into Dihli took possession of the palace and its citadel. The artillery of all sorts went in front. Behind the guns came the new emperor mounted on an elephant, and at his back sat 'Ibād-ullāh Khān (Mir Jumlah) waving a peacock fan over his master's head. Largesse was scattered among the crowd as he went by. The head of Jahāndār Shāh was carried on the point of a long bambu held by an executioner seated on an elephant; his body was laid across the back of another elephant. The corpse of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, with head and feet bare, was tied by the feet to the tail of a third elephant. These followed about one hundred yards behind the elephant on which the emperor rode. The procession was met by Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān (now Qutbu-l-mulk) near the city wall, at the inside of the Dihli gate. The crowd in the streets was immense, a greater had rarely been seen. Some of the spectators were unable to restrain their grief, their eyes filled with tears, lumps formed in their throats, and they muttered to each other, under their breath,

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 130, Ijād, 122 a, Khāfi Khān, II, 734, Khushhāl Cand, 395 a, Rustam 'Alī, 225 b. Suhāgpura (Hamlet of Happy Wives) or the *Bēwa-Khāna* (Widow-house) was one of the establishments (*Kārkhānājāt*) attached to the Court "where in the practice of resignation they pass their lives, receiving rations "and a monthly allowance," *Dastūru-l-'amal*, B. M. No. 6598, fol. 55 a. The name, Suhāgpura, may have been due to delicacy for the feelings of the ladies, or it was perhaps given in derision.

"Glory be to God! Yesterday lords over thousands, to-day fallen into this calamity."¹

The bodies of the unfortunate Jahāndār Shāh and of his wazir were thrown down on the sandy waste before the Dihlī gate of the palace. Asad Khān's family, taking with them nothing but the clothes they had on, were removed in palkis from their house to one known as the *pēshkhāna* of Khān Jahān where they were kept under surveillance; and Taqarrub Khān, the new *Khānsāmān* or Lord Steward, brought in two elephants loaded with the jewels and jewelled vessels from Asad Khān's house, and also sixty-two of his horses. The fallen viceroy himself had been forced to appear in the triumphal procession into Dihlī, seated in a palki and accompanied by a few men on foot, all that was left of his former grandeur. At the Akbarābādī mosque he was halted, and there he sat in his palki unheeded for four or five hours, until Farrukhsiyar ordered his removal with his women to the office rooms of the Diwān above referred to. Some temporary screens were put up, and there he and his family sought shelter. Food was sent to them at night by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān.²

It was not till the 19th (14th February, 1713), that Arslān Khān received orders to bury the bodies of the murdered Jahāndār Shāh and Zū-l-fiqār Khān. The prince was laid in the vault of the emperor Humāyūn's tomb, at the side of other members of the family. Zū-l-fiqār Khān's remains were interred close to the shrine of Shaikh 'Aṭā-ullāh, which is situated at the gateway of the same tomb. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was a little over fifty-nine (lunar) years of age at the time of his death; he left no sons. No memorial was erected over him for several years. At length some of his eunuchs, who had been transferred to Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, mentioned this fact to their new master. The Sayyid ordered a tomb to be built, and on a tablet were inscribed the following lines, composed by Asad Khān :—

هاتف شام غریبان با دو چشم خون نشان

گفت ابراهیم اسماعیل را قربان نمود

¹ Mirzā Mhd., 168, Ijād, 123, Khushhāl Cand, 395-b. The Dihlī gate is on the south side of the city, it is the one nearest the Jumna. Mirzā Muḥammad and his brother witnessed the entry into Dihlī from the roof of the Akbarābādī mosque, which is in the Faiz Bāzār, the street running north and south from the Dihlī gate of the city to the Dihlī gate of the fort. (*Āgāru-s-sanādīd*, 70, Carr Stephen, 246, 248). Khushhāl Cand, also, was one of the onlookers and "into the skirt of this "humble one, too, fell a silver rose, weighing seven māshas."

² Kāmwar Khān, 131, Ijād, 124-b, Khāfi Khān, II, 734, B. M. No. 1690, fol. 162-b.

i.e., "A hidden voice, lamenting with blood suffused eyes, said, 'Ibrāhīm made of Ismā'il a sacrifice'" (1125-H.).¹

In connection with these lines, Wārid tells a story in praise of Asad Khān's strength of mind and vigour of intellect, even at the extreme age that he had then reached, which, if true, would seem rather to prove his want of common feeling. At the moment that his son's death was announced to him, he hung his head for a little while, and then said to the bystanders, "My thoughts repeatedly recur to 'the words 'Ibrāhīm made of 'Ismā'il a sacrifice.'" As the numerical value of the letters in these words accords with the year of Zū-l-fiqār's death, the coincidence, if the words came spontaneously into his mind, was very wonderful. If not, this excogitating of a numerical puzzle was a curious use of the first moments following the news of an eldest son's violent death. As there was no member of the family left to support its name and fame, and Asad Khān now disappears from our history, it will be sufficient to note that he survived until the 25th Jumādi II 1128 H. (15th June, 1716), when he passed away at the great age of eighty-eight lunar years.²

Zū-l-fiqār Khān had obtained great renown as a soldier in the Dakhin, and there can be no question that he was a man of great experience in matters of state. But during the period that we are treating, commencing with the battle between A'zam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh in 1707, his generalship was prudently displayed more in furthering his own interests than in winning battles for the master that he might be serving at the moment. Dānishmand Khān ('Ali) has a passage, taunting him with his conduct in the battle of Jājau, and accusing him of acting on the maxim that discretion is the better part of valour. An anecdotist³ states that Zū-l-fiqār Khān offered the poet and historian a large sum if he would erase this passage from his work, but to 'Ali's credit be it said, the words still stand in the copies which have come down to us.⁴

¹ The father's original name was Ibrāhīm and the son's 'Ismā'il, Ijād, 127-b Wārid, 147-a, *Khushhāl Cand*, 395-a.

² Wārid, 146-b, *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi*, year 1128-H., Kāmwar Khān, 165. *Ma'āşiru-l-umarā*, II, 319, says 94 years; also Khāfi Khān, II, 771, where the year is 1129-H. Kām Rāj makes the age 98 years. An allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year had been given to him by Farrukhsiyar, B. M. Or. 1690, fol., 164a.

³ Anand Rām, *Mukhlis*, "Camanistān," p. 22.

⁴ *Bahādur-shāh Nāma*, B. M. Or. 24, fol. 37b. "The first to show his back was 'Muhammad Ismā'il, entitled Zū-l-fiqār Khān. To A'zam Shāh's face he made 'great protestations, but instead of sacrificing his life, he made off at the earliest 'moment. Receiving from an arrow a skin wound near the mouth, he cast away 'his honour through excessive love of life. If he is abhorrent (*mal'ūn*) to the

The greatest blot on the life of Asad Khān and Zū-l-fiqār Khān is, however, the base ingratitude displayed towards Jahāndār Shāh. Even native historians do not defend this act of treachery. Jahāndār Shāh had many claims upon them for favours conferred; and he had placed his life in their hands. If Asad Khān had thought fit to excuse himself from joining any further in the prince's fortunes, he should have left it open for the fugitive to seek some other refuge. But he should not have seized him or delivered him over to his mortal enemy to be killed with indignity. Apart from this harsh and fruitless act, Asad Khān was superior in character to the other nobles of his time. He did little oppression, was long-suffering, full of dignity and of a handsome presence. He was of a correct disposition, which means, we are told, the showing of benevolence and sympathy to the lowly, and of ostentation and hauteur to your equals. His rise was rapid and unchecked, or as it is put, "he threw without intermission double-six "from the dice-box of desire."¹

6. NEW OFFICIALS AND NEW APPOINTMENTS.

On the way from Āgrah to Dihli, and after arrival at Dihli, many new appointments were made and new titles conferred. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān (now made Nawāb Quṭbu-l-mulk, Yaminu-d-daulah, Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Zafar Jang, Sipāh-sālār, Yār-i-wafādār) became chief minister. The *diwān-i-Khālīṣah*, or Exchequer Office, was given to Muḥammad Bāqir, Muta'mid Khān, who had been for a time Prince Muḥammad A'zam Shāh's lord steward, and then *diwān*, or comptroller of the household, to Prince Jahān Shāh; the *diwān-i-tan* went to Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Ṣādiq, who in Bahādur Shāh's reign was agent at Court of Prince Jahān Shāh, and in Jahāndār Shāh's was comptroller (*diwān*) to that sovereign's eldest son, A'azzu-d-din. Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, was appointed first *Bakhshī* with the titles of 'Umdatu-l-mulk, Amiru-l-umarā, Bahādur, Firūz Jang, Sipāh-sardār.² As the reward for the Tūrāni betrayal of Jahāndār Shāh, the place of second *bakhshī* was conferred on Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cin, Bahādur, who now became I'timādu-d-daulah, Nuṣrat Jang. The third *bakhshī*

"people, his excuse is notorious (*ma'lām*). He had risen to fame and place in the "Dakhin; from his youth up, his training in valour had been in running after "the traces of the Marathas, a tribe of cats, whose occupation is robbing and "running away. He had never seen a battle between kings; had never met in "battle field with tigers from the forest of valour. In brief, to stand firm in such "violent contests you must be a hero."

¹ *Ma'āziru-l-umarā*, II, 317, 318.

² Shiḡ Dās, fol. 2, has Maṣṣūr Jang, which seems a mistake.

was Afrāsyāb Khān, Bahādur, a *Wālāshāhī*, or personal follower of Farrukhsiyar, with whom he had been in Bengal and had there taught him wrestling.¹ The pay-mastership of the *Aḥādīs*² was given to Qamaru-d-din Khān, Bahādur, son of the above-named Muḥammad-Amin Khān. Islām Khān (grandson of the late Islām Khān), formerly *Mir Ātash* to Bahādur Shāh, who had retired from court, was restored to his rank of 5,000, 3,000 horse, and appointed to be first *Mir Tozak*, or quarter-master-general.³ For the period of one month from the victory at Āgrah, Sa'd-ullāh Khān⁴ (son of 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, Kashmiri) was continued in the office of *Khānsāmān*, or Lord High Steward; but at the camp in Khizrābād, this office was transferred to Taqarrub Khān (Muḥammad Ja'far, *Shirāzī*), who already held the place of Private secretary.⁵

Some smaller court offices were conferred on Farrukhsiyar's personal favourites. Although these offices were of the second rank, their holders exercised, as we shall soon see, as much if not more power than the nobles who were nominally their superiors. For instance, against the opinion of Mir Jumlah, who was officially no more than head of the pages and messengers, the chief minister himself found it impossible to act. The office of Confiscations and Escheats (*buyūtātī*) was given to Saif-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, a *Wālā-shāhī*; Khwāja 'Āsim, now created Ṣamsāmu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Maṣṣūr Jang, was superintendent of the Audience Hall and *Bakhshi* of the personal

¹ Afrāsyāb Khān, Bahādur, Rustam Jang, was Suhrāb, known as Mirzā Ajmērī son of Garshāsp. He died at Dihlī on the night of the 25th Ramazān, 1130 H., 21st August, 1718, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*. His elder brother was the Rashīd Khān sent in 1124 H., 1712, to oust Ja'far Khān, *nāẓim* of Bengal, Gladwin, "Transactions," 96. Mirzā Ajmērī was of such strength that once he lifted a small gun and its carriage out of the mud on the road from Akbarnagar to Rāj Maḥal, *Akhbār-i-Muḥabbat*, 277.

² *Aḥādī* (one, single) means a gentleman trooper serving under no chief or noble, but directly under the Emperor.

³ This Islām Khān (d. 1144 H., 1731-2), was one Mir Aḥmad, first Barkhurdār Khān, then Islām Khān, son of Ṣafi Khān (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), the second son of 'Abdu-s-salām, first Ikhtisāṣ Khān, then Islām Khān, Mashhadī, (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), *M. ul-u.*, I, 162, II, 740.

⁴ His former titles were Hidāyat-ullāh Khān; and then for a time, after the death of Mun'im Khān, Bahādur Shah's Wazīr, he was Wazārat Khān. We shall speak of this man again presently.

⁵ Mirzā Muḥammad, 169, Kāmwar Khān, 121, 143, Khāfi Khān, II, 728, Wārid, 149b, Kām Rāj, *Ubratnāmāh*, 53b. Khāfi Khān says the third *bakhshī* was Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān (Aḥmad Bēg). Yahyā Khān, 122a, on the contrary, says that this man was made Mir Ātash. This latter statement is confirmed by Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 170, the date being 12th Sha'bān, 1125 H., (2nd September, 1713), vice Zū-l-fiqār Khān (Ghulām 'Alī Khān).

troops, or *Wālā-shāhī*; 'Ibād-ullāh (*Shari'at-ullāh Khān*) created Muta'midu-l-mulk, Mir Jumlah, Mu'azzam *Khān*, *Khān Khānān*, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, held the office of superintendent of the *Khawāṣṣ*, or attendants, and of the *ghusl-khāna*, or privy council room. Ghulām 'Ali *Khān*, a *wālā-shāhī*, received the title of Zū-l-fiqār *Khān*, Bahādur, and the command of the artillery; being soon supplanted, however, (12th *Shā'bān* 1125 H., 2nd September, 1713), by Ghāziu-d-din *Khān* (*Aḥmad Bēg*). This latter had already obtained charge of the retinue (*jalau*), vice Islām *Khān*, who had held it in addition to his principal office of *Mir Tozak*. The command of the *cauki-khāṣṣ*, or bodyguard, was made over to Faiẓ-ullāh *Khān*, a *wālā-shāhī*. Amīnu-d-din *Khān*, Sambhali, became head of the 'Arẓ *Mukarrar*, or office for the examination and confirmation of appointments. The department of Branding and Mustering (*dāgh-o-taṣṣīḥah*) was given to Sayyid Shujā'at-ullāh *Khān*, Bārḥah, sister's son of Quṭbu-l-mulk, the Wazīr. At first Fidā *Khān*¹ was retained, as in Bahādur *Shāh's* and Jahāndār *Shāh's* time, as *qūr-bēgī*, or head of the armoury; but the place was shortly afterwards transferred to Amīr *Khān* (Muḥammad Ishāq)² son of the late Amīr *Khān*; then in a few months he gave way in favour of Khwāja Muẓaffar, Pānipati, now created Zafar *Khān*, Bahādur, who was known by the nickname of *Turrah-i-bāz*.³ The *Ṣadārat-i-kull*, or superintendence of charitable and religious grants, was given to Sayyid Afẓal, who had taught Farrukhsiyar to read the *qurān*, with the title of Sayyid Afẓal *Khān*, Bahādur, Ṣadr Jahān.⁴

The provincial governments were next provided for. Kābul was left in the hands of Nāṣir *Khān*, Bahādur, Nāṣir Jang. Kashmīr was taken from 'Ināyat-ullāh *Khān*, whose *manṣab* even was cancelled, and

¹ Formerly Tahavvur *Khān*, then Fidā *Khān*, son of Ṣalābat *Khān*, Khwāja Mir, Khwāfi, (d. early in 1104 H., 1693-4), *M.-ul-u.*, II, 742, 745.

² Afterwards 'Umdatul-mulk, A. K., assassinated 1159 H., 1746-7.

³ *Turrah*, waving ringlets, or the hanging end of a turban; *Turrah-i-bāz*, 'a falcon's crest.' Zafar *Khān* and all his men wore their turbans in the same way, with an end sticking out, and from this peculiarity the nickname arose. Khushhāl Cand, 403b, explains that the *Turrah* were of gold and silk brocade (*bādalah*), and were used extensively as ornaments to Zafar *Khān's* equipage. In lot No. 698 in B. Quaritch's catalogue, No. 161, of July 1896, there was a portrait of Rōshanu-d-daulah (i.e., Zafar *Khān*) which I inspected. It showed a rather stout and not very tall man, with a broad and slightly heavy face, white beard and moustache, the latter slightly black still at the corners of the mouth. To the band or ribbon round the centre of the turban was attached an ornament (*sarpec*) and from it hung a long feather, falling backwards and ending in two small points. Perhaps this feather represents the *Turrah-i-bāz*?

⁴ Mirzā Muḥammad, 169.

he was replaced by Sādāt Khān,¹ the new Emperor's father-in-law, to whom permission to govern by deputy was accorded. Zabardast Khān entitled 'Alī Mardān Khān (III), son of Ibrāhīm Khān, 'Alī Mardān Khān (II), son of Amīru-l-umarā, 'Alī Mardān Khān (I)² died at Lāhōr before he could be removed; he was replaced by 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Bahādūr, (subsequently made Diler Jang, after his victories over the Sikhs). Multān was conferred on Qutbu-l-mulk, the Wazīr, but Shēr Afgan Khān, Bahādūr, (brother of Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Ṣādiq), who had been in charge on behalf of Kokaltāsh Khān ('Alī Murād) remained on as the deputy of the new governor). For the preceding fifteen or sixteen years Dihli had been held by Muḥammad Yār Khān, and he was left undisturbed. Ajmēr was made over to Sayyid Muẓaffar Khān, Bārhaḥ (recently created Sayyid Khān Jahān, Bahādūr), maternal uncle of Qutbu-l-mulk. Shahāmat Khān (son-in-law of 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān, Kashmīrī) who had been governor of Gujarāt in Bahādūr Shāh's reign, received the new title of Mubārīz Khān and was confirmed in his old appointment. Rājah Chabelah Rām,³ a personal adherent of Farrukhsiyar's family and a brave soldier, whose welfare was dear to the heart of the Emperor, was sent at first to Āgrah, his birthplace, but on the pretext that he was unable to cope with Curāman, Jāt, he was soon replaced by Ṣamsāmu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān, also a native of Āgrah. Audh was given to Sarbuland Khān, the Emperor's uncle by marriage, and Allāhābād to Khān Jahān (son of the late Khān Jahān, Bahādūr, Kokaltāsh, 'Ālamgiri). The latter had been recently removed from the Government of Bengal. His titles were now increased to A'azzu-d-daulah, Khān 'Ālam, Bahādūr. Shahāmat Khān (Mubārīz Khān) had lately held Mālwah in addition to Gujarāt. Mālwah was now taken from him and given over to Rājah Jai Singh of Āmber. To conciliate the Rājah, he was told that he need not come to Court, but might march straight from his own country to his new government. 'Aẓimābād Patnah (Bihar) was confirmed, as before' to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Amīru-l-umarā; his sister's son, Ghairat Khān, who had been left behind in charge, continuing to act as his deputy. Bengal was conferred on the infant prince, the Emperor's son, Farkhunda Bakht, entitled Jahāngir Shāh, with the former *dīwān*, Murshid Qulī Khān,

¹ Mir Muḥammad Takki, Ḥusainī, Māzandarānī, Iṣfahānī, son of Sādāt Khān, wounded on the day of Farrukhsiyar's deposition, in Rabi' 1131 H., February 1719, and died a few days afterwards aged over eighty years—*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*.

² Mhd. Khālī, entitled first Zabardast Khān, then 'Alī Mardān Khān, Zik, died a little before the 9th Jumādī I, 1125 H., 2nd June, 1713, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* and Kāmwar Khān. For this family, see *M. ul-u.*, I, 295-300, II, 795, and III, 155.

³ Chabelī Rām in Mirzā Muḥammad; sometimes Chabelā Rām in other works.

as his deputy. The latter's titles were increased to Ja'far Khān, Naṣīrī.¹ In a few months' time, when the infant died of small pox, the *ṣūbah* was granted to Mir Jumlah, with the same deputy. To Orissa, Muṣṣḥid Qulī Khān (Ja'far Khān) was appointed *ṣūbahdār* in his own name.²

For the six provinces making up the Dakhin special arrangements were made. The supreme control of the whole country was confided to Cīn Qilic Khān (son of the late Ghāzīn-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang), who on this occasion was created Nizāmu-l-mulk, Bahādur, Faṭḥ Jang. He was empowered to select the lands to be held in *jāgīr* for furnishing the pay of himself and his followers, and to suggest the rank (*manṣab*) to be granted to the chief landholders. His headquarters were fixed at Aurangābād. In Burhānpur his deputy was to be Shukr-ullāh Khān, to make room for whom Dāūd Khān, Pannī, was removed as deputy-governor to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt; in the two Karnātak, Sa'ādat-ullāh Khān; in Barār, 'Iwāz Khān, who was married to the late Ghāzīn-d-dīn Khān's sister, and was, therefore, Nizāmu-l-mulk's uncle by marriage. Bidar, Bijāpur, and Ḥaidarābād were to remain as before under Amīn Khān (son of Khān Zamān, Bahādur, Faṭḥ Jang, deceased), Maṣṣūr Khān and Yūsuf Khān respectively. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, Isfarāīnī, a protégé of Mir Jumlah, was sent as *dīvān* of the whole Dakhin, with authority over every department, except those of the Nāẓim, of the report writers, and of the deciding of suits.³

The Sayyid brothers are generally accused of grasping all power and office for themselves and friends to the exclusion of everybody else. It is curious to note, after going through the chief appointments, that this accusation should have so little foundation. Besides the two offices which were the price of their services, they received the government of two *ṣūbahs* for themselves and one for an uncle. They seem to have

¹ Mirzā Muḥammad gives بصیری plainly enough, but generally it is written نصیری *naṣīrī* or *nuṣairī*. *Baṣīrī* means "the prudent," "the circumspect," *naṣīrī*, "the ally," "the helper," and *nuṣairī* "faithful to 'Alī as was Nuṣair," or "one ready to sacrifice his life out of devotion." Anyone of these meanings would be equally appropriate.

² Mirzā Muḥammad, 174.

³ Mirzā Muḥammad, 177, Khāfī Khān, II, 740. Biographies of some of the above men will be found as follows. Dāūd Khān, Pannī, d. 1127 H., 1715-16, (Ma'-āṣiru-l-umarā', II, 63). Sa'ādat-ullāh Khān, a Nawāyat (see Wilks, I, 242), died 1145 H., 1732-3, (*M-ul-u*, II, 513). 'Iwāz Khān, d. 1143 H., 1730-1, (*M-ul-u*, II, 832). Amīn Khān, d. 1137 H., 1724-5, (*M-ul-u*, I, 352), fourth son of Shaikh Nizām, Khān Zamān, d. 1108 H., 1696-7, (*id.* 1, 794), captor of Shambhā Jī, Mahrattah. Maṣṣūr Khān was a Rōz Bahānī.

obtained very little else, while the Emperor's friends and the Tūrāni chiefs obtained the lion's share. A crowd of new men were thus brought on the stage, and it is necessary for the sake of clearness that we should say something about the most prominent of them, their origin and antecedents.

7. I'TIMĀDU-DAULAH MUḤAMMAD AMĪN KHĀN, BAHĀDUR, NUṢRAT JANG.

Muḥammad Amin Khān was a native of Samarqand in the kingdom of Bukhārā. His grandfather, 'Ālam Shaiḫ, a learned man and a descendant of the Shaiḫ Shahābu-d-dīn, Quraishī, Tarmanī, Ṣadiqī, of Sahrward, had two sons, Khwāja 'Ābid and Mir Bahāu-d-dīn. The elder son came to India and was the father of Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang; the second son, Mir Bahāu-d-dīn, Muḥammad Amin's father, entered the employ of the ruler of Bukhārā, and was by him executed on suspicion of complicity with his rebellious son. This event happened about the year 1098 H. (1686–7), when Mir Muḥammad Amin must have been about twenty-five years of age. He escaped to India and was favourably received by 'Ālamgīr, then in the Dakkhin, by whom he was sent to serve with his cousin, Firūz Jang. In the forty-second year, 1109–10 H., 1697–8, when 'Ālamgīr was anxious to find in the Tūrānis a counterpoise to Asad Khān, the Wazīr, and his son, Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Muḥammad Amin Khān was brought to Court and made *ṣadr*, or head of the charitable and religious endowments. In 1115–16 H., 1704–5, and again in 1116–17 H., his rank was raised in reward for military services, and in the very last year of 'Ālamgīr's reign (1118 H.), after defeating the Mahrattahs, he received the special addition of *Cīn Bahādur* to his other titles. Although the Tūrānis had not shown any great zeal for his rival, A'zam Shāh, still Bahādur Shāh did not receive them into the same favour as before. Muḥammad Amin Khān was sent to Murādābād as *faujdār*; but towards the end of the reign, he was brought back to headquarters, and took a leading part in the campaign against the Sikhs. When Jahāndār Shāh decided to march against Farrukhsiyar, Muḥammad Amin Khān was recalled from Sah-rind. He was present in Jahāndār Shāh's ranks at Āgrah, but as we have related, took no serious part in the fighting. This betrayal was now rewarded by his appointment to be second Bakhshī of the empire. At this time he was about fifty-two years of age, and since the death of Firūz Jang in 1122 H., 1710–11, he had become the acknowledged leader of the Tūrāni soldiery, his cousin, Cīn Qilic Khān (Nizāmu-l-mulk), son of Firūz Jang, being about ten years his junior.¹

¹ *Ma'āşiru-l-umarā*, I, 346.

8. ŞAMŞAMU-D-DAULAH, KHĀN DAURĀN, BAHĀDUR, MANŞÜR JANG.

Khawāja 'Āsim's ancestors, emigrating from a village in Badakh-shān, took up their residence in Āgrah. Some followed the profession of soldiering, others gained reputation as men of learning and holiness, living secluded from the world. They were of the Naqshbandī sect. His father's name was Khawāja Qāsim: and as his birth took place about 1083 H., 1672-3, he was now about forty-two (lunar) years of age. He began life as a trooper of Prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān's regiment, and when that prince, at the time of 'Ālamgīr's death, left Bengal for Āgrah, Khawāja 'Āsim remained with Farrukhsiyar in the former province. One author asserts that he had been a play-fellow of Farrukhsiyar's, but as he was at least eleven years older, this can hardly be correct. His intimacy with the prince was founded, however, on his joining him in wrestling, archery, riding, polo playing and other war-like exercises, of which Farrukhsiyar was passionately fond. He soon obtained such great influence with the young prince that the other courtiers complained to 'Azīmu-sh-shān. The Khawāja was accordingly sent for to head-quarters at Lāhōr. Soon after this, Bahādur Shāh died and Khawāja 'Āsim (now become Ashraf Khān) upon the death of his master, 'Azīmu-sh-shān, fled to Āgrah. Here Khawāja Ja'far, his elder brother, tried to make him renounce the world and thus save his soul. For a time he stopped at home and occupied himself with Shīrāzī pigeon-fancying and archery. When Farrukhsiyar became next heir to the throne, Khawāja 'Āsim "felt like a falcon newly moulted." He began to collect some men, but his doings were reported to the governor. Being warned by a disciple of a resolve to seize him, he fled at midnight in the disguise of a faqīr. On reaching Paṭnah, he was introduced by the two Sayyids to the prince, his former intimacy with whom he is said to have concealed. From this point the part he took has already appeared in our history.¹

Khān Daurān was the perfect type of the Indian courtier, and from this time until his death in 1151 H. 1738, he retained his position at Court, whoever was in power. He is described as a man of smooth plausible speech, with no learning and little knowledge of Persian, prefixing to every sentence the catch word *Mērā sāhib!* (my good sir). To conceal his limited acquaintance with Persian, he used to begin by speaking in elegant Urdū, so that he might charm his hearers at the outset and prevent their noticing his defective scholarship. He used to say that for a man born in India to attempt to speak Persian was to make himself ridiculous by his own act. But he could quote occasional-

¹ *M-ul-umarā*, I. 817, *Aḥwāl-u-l-Khawāqīn*, 49b, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* (year 1151 H.)

ly with good effect Persian couplets or proverbs. An elder brother had been formerly in the service of 'Azimu-sh-shān and was killed in the campaign in Bengal against Raḥim Khān, Afghān. Much of Khān Daurān's prestige may have been derived from his commanding presence. A contemporary tells us that when he walked up the audience hall with a group of followers, his head would be seen towering far above the others. From all accounts he and his brother, Muzaḥfar Khān, were boasters of a most extravagant order, while their courage was more than doubtful. At any rate, they rarely put it to the test. Khān Daurān might, indeed, have qualified as a member of the Peace Society, for whenever the subject was broached, he would ask, "What is to be gained by going to war?" He was one of those men, never absent from Eastern courts, who do absolutely nothing, either in war or in peace, as a return for the rank and wealth which have been showered upon them. His hand was in every intrigue, and never without profit to himself. Throughout his career, he was the favourite of the Hindustānī party in the State, the person through whom Jāt or Rājput chiefs put forward any claim they might wish to advance. Especially was this the case with Rājah Jai Singh, for whom as we shall see, Khān Daurān obtained many favours.¹

9. GHĀZIU-D-DĪN KHĀN, GHĀLIB JANG, (AḤMAD BĒG).

When Farrukhsiyar first reached 'Azīmābād Patnah, Shari'at-ullāh Khān (Mir Jumla) and Khwāja 'Aṣim (Khān Daurān) not being present, Aḥmad Bēg became for a time his most active assistant and principal confidant. He was one of the foster brothers of Jahāndār Shāh,² but having quarrelled with that prince on account of the preference shown for 'Alī Murād, Kokaltāsh Khān, he sought a refuge in Bengal. When Farrukhsiyar's more particular favourites returned, they supplanted Aḥmad Bēg in the prince's good graces, and from that time he seems to have fallen a good deal into the back ground. Aḥmad Bēg, a man of Tūrānī race,³ was born about 1076 H. 1665-6. From the scantiness of his beard, he bore the nickname of *Kosah*, or Goatbeard.⁴ His further part in history is confined to two occasions, the day of

¹ *Ma'āziru-l-umarā*, I, 819, Yahyā Khān, 119b., Āshōb, 73.

² Yahyā Khān, 119a, says he was the *navāsah* (daughter's son) of Qāim Bēg, Shāhjahānī.

³ The *Aḥwāl-u-l-Khawāqin*, 61a, gives him the epithet of *Ashṭar'ab* (?).

⁴ The epithet is borne out by a portrait that I saw lately at Mr. Quaritch's (one of the drawings mentioned on the cover of his catalogue No. 155, December 1895). Ghālib Jang is shown seated, and is dressed in a pale mauve coat of thin muslin. His beard consists of four or five short, straight hairs.

Farrukhsiyar's deposition, when he fought in the streets on his master's behalf, and again at the time when he took the side of Quṭbu-l-mulk; after the murder of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. When Muḥammad Shāh pardoned him, it was proposed to take away his title of Ghālib Jang, as it had been granted to a brother of Luṭf-ullāh Khān, Ṣādiq. Ghaziu-d-din Khān made loud objection, and claimed that, as both he and the new "Conqueror in War" were present, they should fight it out in single combat, the victor becoming in both senses "*Ghālib-i-jang*." The emperor smiled and left him in undisturbed possession. He died on the 12th Ṣafar, 1139 H., (8th October, 1726), at the age of sixty-three (lunar) years.¹

10. MİR JUMLAH.

The name of this man, a native of Samarqand in Tūrān, was 'Ubaid-ullāh,² son of Mir Muḥammad Wafā, and he was born about the year 1081 H., 1670-1. Early in life he abandoned his native country and repaired to Hindūstān, where he arrived in the reign of 'Ālamgir. He obtained in time the post of Qāḍī at Jahāngīrnagar Dhākah in *ṣubāh* Bengal, and finally the same office at 'Aẓimābād Paṭnah in *ṣubāh* Bihar. He seems to have wormed himself into the confidence of Prince 'Aẓimu-sh-shān, then Governor of Bengal and Bihar, and to have obtained complete control over the mind of his second son, Farrukhsiyar. He was with Prince 'Aẓimu-sh-shān at Lāhōr, and as we have already stated, was making his way eastwards to Farrukhsiyar when he met and joined that prince at Āgrah. He had secured himself a very favourable reception by his successful negotiations with the Tūrānī leaders in Jahāndār Shāh's army. From this time his name will recur frequently in our narrative. His titles were first Shari'at-ullāh Khān, then 'Ibād-ullāh Khān, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, and finally Muta'midu-l-mulk, Mu'azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Bahādur, Muẓaffar Jang, Mir Jumlah, Tarkhānī, Sultānī. He is described by one writer as a man who, in spite of his great learning, was blind to the essential meaning of things.³

11. NIZĀMU-L-MULK.

Perhaps the most important person in the group of men that rose into the very first rank upon Farrukhsiyar's accession, was Nizāmu-l-mulk, now a man of nearly forty-three (lunar) years of age, who

¹ *Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā* II, 879, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*, year 1139 H.

² The *Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā* has " 'Abd-ullāh " and " 'Ibād-ullāh. " The commonest form is عبيد الله which may be either 'Abīd-ullāh or 'Ubaid-ullāh.

³ *Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā*, III, 711, *T-i-Mḥdī*, year 1144 H., *Aḥwāl-u-l-Mawāqin*, 61a.

was already a distinguished soldier and provincial governor, even in 'Ālamgīr's reign. Hitherto, however, he had been overshadowed by his father, Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang, who had died only two years before this time, and by his cousin, a much older man, Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cīn, Bahādur. But on Nizāmu-l-mulk's appointment in 1125 H. (1713) to the six *ṣūbahs* of the Dakhin, he rose to a position of pre-eminence, which he never for one moment lost till his death in 1161 H. (1748), thirty-five years afterwards.

As stated a few pages back, when speaking of Muḥammad Amin Khān, the family of Nizāmu-l-mulk came from Samarqand. His great grand-father was 'Ālam Shaikh, son of Allāhdād, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmān, Shaikh 'Azīzān.¹ They are said to have come originally from Sahrward. Khwāja 'Ābid, son of 'Ālam Shaikh, moved to Bukhārā, where he was first of all *Qāzī*, then Shaikh-l-islām. A year or two before 'Ālamgīr ascended the throne (1066-7 H., 1655-6), he passed through India on his way to Mecca. He returned at the time when 'Ālamgīr was about to start from the Dakhin to seize his father's throne. 'Ālamgīr accepted his services and gave him a high command. He filled various offices, such as that of *Ṣadārat-i-kull*, or superintendent of endowments, governor of Ajmēr, then of Multān. In the twenty-fourth year (1091-2 H., 1680-1) he fell into disgrace, but was soon pardoned and again given the *Ṣadārat-i-kull*. A year afterwards he was sent to the Dakhin, and then in the twenty-ninth year (1096-7 H., 1684-5), he became governor of Zafarābād Bidar. He continued to serve with distinction in the Dakhin, until on the 24th Rabi' I. 1098 H. (30th January, 1687), at the siege of Gulkandah, he was shot in the arm and died of the wound. In the twenty-third year (1690-1) he had received the title of Qilīc Khān. He had five sons, the two youngest of whom died comparatively early in life without rising very high. The second and third sons, Mu'izzu-d-daulah, Hāmid Khān, and Naṣīru-d-daulah, 'Abdu-r-rahīm Khān, were men of some fame and distinction.

¹ The table (furnished by the present Nizām) in J. D. B. Gribble's "History of the Deccan," I, 380, gives the same steps in the genealogy thus:—

Nizāmu-l-mulk, Aṣaf Jāh,

↓
Firūz Jang

↓
Mīr 'Ābid (Qilīc Khān),

↓
Khwāja Mīr Ismā'il

↓
Khwāja 'Azīzān (Aluna)

↓
Mhd 'Ālam Shaikh, Ṣadiqī 'Ulvi,

and so on, back to Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr, in the 33rd generation.

But the greatest of all was the eldest son, Ghāziū-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang, and to him we now turn.

Mir Shāhābu-d-dīn was born at Samarcand about the year 1060 H. (1649-50); and followed his father to India in the twelfth year of 'Ālamgīr (1079-80 H., 1668-9), when he was in his nineteenth or twentieth year. He received the rank of 300 *Zāt*, 70 horse. His special favour with 'Ālamgīr began ten years later when, at the peril of his life, he brought speedy information from a general who had been sent in pursuit of the Rānā into the hills of Udaipur, and of whose safety no tidings could be obtained. For this service he obtained the title of Khān and from that time rose rapidly, especially after he had proved his loyalty by rejecting all advances from the emperor's rebel son, Prince Akbar. He accompanied the emperor into the Dakhin and took part in all the campaigns there for the succeeding five and twenty years. He conquered Ibrāhimgarh-Ekar (also called Firūzgarh); was conspicuous in the taking of Haidarābād; Adonī (Imtiyāzgarh) also fell before him. He was sent against Čambhāji, son of Čivāji, in 1099-1100 H. (1687-8), and served against Deogarh (Islāmgarh), which he captured. In the forty-eighth year, 1115-16 H., 1703-4, he pursued the Mahrattas into Mālwah. At the time of 'Ālamgīr's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was at Elicpur, in charge of the *šūbah* of Barār. As we have already recounted (under Bahādur Shāh's reign), he took no part in the war of succession between A'zam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh. The Tūrānīs were not in favour with the victor, Bahādur Shāh, and thus Firūz Jang was moved out of the Dakhin, where he was dangerous, to the government of Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt. There he died on the 17th Shawwāl 1122 H. (8th December, 1710) at the age of sixty-two (lunar) years. He held the rank of 7,000 *zāt*. Following the usual Mughal system, his estate was confiscated on his death. It consisted of 1½ lakhs of rupees in bills on bankers, 133,000 gold *muhrs*, 25,000 *Hūn* (gold) and *nīm-pāoli* (gold), 17,000 gold *Pāoli*, 400 *adheli* (half) and 8,000 whole silver *Pāoli*, 140 horses, 300 camels, 400 oxen and 38 elephants.

Ghāziū-d-dīn Khān is described as the most exceptionally gifted among the Tūrānī nobles, good-natured, dignified, fortunate in war and an excellent administrator. His first wife was the daughter of Sa'd-ullāh Khān,¹ Wazīr of Shāhjahān; after her death he married in succession two of her nieces, daughters of her brother, Hifz-ullāh Khān (Miyān Khān), but by these two wives he had no children. For the last twenty years of his life he was totally blind, his sight having been

¹ S. K. died 1066 H., 1665-6, see *M-ul-u*, II, 441 and *T-i-Mahz*, year 1066 H.

destroyed by an epidemic which raged in the army under his command. In spite of this privation, his active career continued as before; such a case having been until then unknown in India, of a blind man continuing to command an army in the field or govern a province.

Mir Qamaru-d-din, son of Ghāziu-d-din Khān by the daughter of Shāhjahān's Wazīr, Sa'd-ullāh Khān, was born on the 14th Rabi' II. 1082 H., (11th August, 1671).¹ In 1095 H. (1682-3) when in his thirteenth year, he received as his first appointment in the service of the state, the rank of 400 *zāt*, 100 horse. In the following year the title of Khān was added to his name. In 1101 or 1102 H., (1690-1), he received the title of Cin Qilic Khān, and at 'Ālamgīr's death in 1118 H., 1707, he was governor of Bijāpur. His father and he took no part in the contest for the throne between the sons of 'Ālamgīr: and when Bahādur Shāh had succeeded in defeating his rival, he removed the Tūrānis from the Dakhin, possibly on the advice of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, who looked on them as his personal enemies. Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Firūz Jang, was sent to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cin, went to Murādābād as *faujdar* and Cin Qilic Khān was appointed *Shubahdar* of Audh and *faujdar* of Gōrakhpur (15th Ramaẓān, 1119 H., 9th December, 1707). At the same time the title of the last named was changed to that of Khān Daurān, Bahādur, and he was raised to 6000 *zāt*, 6000 horse. A few weeks afterwards (5th Zū-l-Qa'dah, 27th January, 1708), he resigned all his titles and appointments; but at the desire of Mun'im Khān, the Wazīr, he withdrew his resignation and was promoted to 7,000 *zāt*, 7,000 horse. When his father died and the deceased's property was confiscated, Cin Qilic Khān (Khān Daurān as he then was) sent in his resignation afresh, 18th Zū-l-Hijjah 1122 H., 6th February, 1711; this time it was accepted, and 4,000 rupees a year were granted for his support. Quite at the end of Bahādur Shāh's reign, he returned to the active list with the titles of Ghāziu-d-din Khān, Bahādur, Firūz Jang. On Bahādur Shāh's death, he attempted to espouse the cause of 'Azimu-sh-shān,

¹ In many works there is a curious mistake as to Nizāmu-l-mulk's age. He is said to have died in 1161 H., (1748), at the age of one hundred and four years. Orme, "Military Transactions," Madras reprint, I, 122, is the first to make this statement. Orme was in Madras at the time of the Nizām's death (1748), and ought to have known the truth; but then he had no knowledge of Persian and no access to written authorities. Grant Duff, "History of the Mahrattas," Bombay reprint, 265, repeats the statement, probably copying from Orme. Grant Duff was acquainted with both the *Ma'āziru-l-umarā*, and the *Khizānah-i-'āmirah*, a reference to either of which would have shown him that Nizāmu-l-mulk's birth year was 1082 H.; and therefore, in 1161 H., when he died, he could have been no more than 79 lunar or 77 solar years of age. This is the age given by Elphinstone, "History," 64 l.

who long before had promised him high office, and he had made one march from Dihli at the head of 3,000 or 4,000 men, when he heard of the prince's death. Thereupon he discharged his men and retired into private life. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān was the brother-in-law of his cousin, Muḥammad Amin Khān, and this man's services to Zū-l-fiqār Khān had been so great, that on his account Cin Qilic Khān's hostile attitude was overlooked. Towards the end of Jahāndār Shāh's short reign, he was appointed to the defence of Āgrah. There he and his cousin were brought over to Farrukhsiyar's interest, as already related, through Shari'at-ullāh Khān (Mir Jumlah), and as a reward for his neutrality he was now made governor of the whole Dakhin, with the new titles first of Khān Khānān, and then of Nizāmu-l-mulk, Bahādur, Fath Jang.¹

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An unrecorded Governor of Fort William in Bengal.—By C. R.
WILSON, M. A.

[Read April, 1898.]

It is well known that the commonly received lists of the early Governors of Bengal are very imperfect. Quite recently, in 1888, Mr. F. C. Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of the India Office Records, drew up a statement and memorandum tracing the Bengal Chiefs, Agents, and Governors, from the earliest dates. Yet even he has failed to notice the Governor of whose history this paper is intended to be a brief record. He was, it is true, Governor for little more than a single day, but his life more than covers the interval between Charnock and Clive, and the man himself is an interesting personality in the factory period.

Edward Stephenson¹ was born in Cumberland in the year 1691, his baptism being recorded in the parish register of Crosthwaite under the date of the 8th October of that year. His father was Edward Stephenson of Keswick. Through his mother Rebecca, he was connected with the Winders of Lorton and of the City of London. The pedigree of the Winders of Lorton has been investigated with great care by Mr. F. A. Winder of Southsea, Portsmouth,² to whom I am indebted for much of the information which follows. Here it will be sufficient to say that John Winder of Lorton, who died in May, 1696, left behind a numerous family among whom were his eldest son and heir John Winder, barrister-at-law of Gray's Inn; Samuel Winder, a merchant at Mark Lane, London; Jonathan Winder, his third son, who entered the New East India Company's service, and was from 1705 to 1707 one of the two Chairmen of the United Council in Bengal; and Rebecca who married, as has been said, Edward Stephenson of Keswick, by whom she had two sons, Edward and John, and a daughter, Debora.

¹ He signs "Edwd. Stephenson," and so the India Office Records always spell the name. The parish register has "Steavenson."

² See his paper on the subject in Vol. XIV. of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.

On the 3rd November, 1708, the Court of Directors of the East India Company read a petition from Edward Stephenson, then seventeen years old "praying to be entertained a writer in the Bay or elsewhere," and ordered the Committee of Accounts to examine the petitioner's qualifications.¹ On the 24th November Edward Stephenson was elected a writer in the Company's service.² On the 17th December following, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Jonathan Winder were accepted as securities for Edward Stephenson in £500.³ Edward Stephenson arrived in Bengal on the 2nd February, 1710.⁴ In the seventy-fifth paragraph of a letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors dated the 10th December, 1712, he was specially commended.⁵ On this account he was advanced one year in service and accordingly became a Factor on the 2nd February, 1714.⁶ In a list of the Company's servants drawn up in November, 1711, he appears as Sub-Accountant.

On the 5th January, 1714, he was elected third in the embassy to Delhi.⁷ On the 26th February he was given two hundred and fifty rupees to provide himself with clothes and necessaries.⁸ In April the boats which carried the present for Farrukhsiyar were sent up the river to Patna, and Stephenson must have left Calcutta at the same time or soon after.⁹ When the Surman Diary opens in August, 1714, we find him with John Surman in Patna preparing to start for the Mogul Court. On the 6th April, 1715, the embassy actually began its journey. On the 7th July it made its entry into Delhi.¹⁰ The next two years were spent in long, tedious, but successful negotiations. After many disappointments Farrukhsiyar and his vizier, Sayyid 'Abdu-llāh Khān, were prevailed upon to issue a number of imperial rescripts and orders increasing and securing the commercial privileges of the English in every part of India. In his

¹ See Court Book XLIII., p. 231.

² See Court Book XLIII., p. 275.

³ See Court Book XLIII., p. 344.

⁴ See the lists of the Company's servants which come at the end of the volumes of Consultations in the India Office Records.

⁵ This letter is lost, but an abstract of it will be found in the Correspondence Papers, Vol. I., 1713 to 1715.

⁶ See Bengal General, dated 13th January, 1713 (*i.e.*, 1714), para. 88.

⁷ See Bengal Public Consultations of that date. On further discussion, Khojah Sarhad being appointed second, John Pratt became third, and Stephenson, Secretary. Finally Pratt withdrew and on the 4th March Stephenson was again appointed third.

⁸ See Bengal Public Consultations of that date.

⁹ *Ib.*

¹⁰ See the Surman Diary under the dates given.

old age Stephenson was consulted by Orme about the history of this embassy in which he played no small part and of which he was in 1765 the sole survivor. On the 18th July, 1717, the embassy left Delhi and returned to Calcutta on the 22nd November.¹

From the embassy Stephenson went to Balasor to be Chief of the local factory; but in July, August, 1718, he was transferred to the Council at Patna of which he became Chief on the 25th June, 1719.² In September, 1720, he was confirmed in this appointment, and given a gratuity of £300 for his services in connection with the embassy.³

After eight years of uneventful service, first as Chief at Patna, and afterwards as Chief at Cassimbazar, he was suddenly called upon to fill the highest post of all. "On Friday, the 23rd August, 1718," says the Consultations Book, "the Hon. Henry Frankland, Esq., late President, having, after a sickness of about twelve days, departed this life at one o'clock this morning, and the Worshipful Edward Stephenson, Esq., being next in succession, who is now Chief at Cassimbazar, it is unanimously agreed that we despatch a pair of *qāşids* to advise him that thereby the government of this place devolves on him." The Consultations Book continues the story on Tuesday the 17th September. "This morning at nine o'clock the Hon. Edward Stephenson, Esq., arrived here from Cassimbazar and took his place at this board as President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal to which he succeeds by the death of our late President, the Hon. Henry Frankland, Esq., and accordingly the commission and keys of the fort were now delivered him." His rule was short. On the evening of Wednesday the 18th John Deane who had already held supreme authority, from 1723 to 1726, returned from England and resumed his former position. "At eight o'clock in the night arrived here John Deane, Esq., who produced the Honorable Company's commission for appointing him President and Governor of all their affairs in Bengal; which commission was read in the Consultation Room, Fort William, in the presence of all the Company's servants, &c., and accordingly the keys of the fort were delivered to him by Edward Stephenson, Esq."⁴

¹ See the Surman Diary and the Bengal Public Consultations of the dates given.

² See Bengal Public Consultations as before.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ No notice of these changes is to be found in any of our authorities. Even Mr. Danvers in his carefully compiled list of Bengal Governors has omitted Edward Stephenson and the second governorship of John Deane. According to him Henry Frankland assumed office on the 30th January, 1726, and returned to Europe on the 25th February, 1732. Whereas, as I have said, Henry Frankland died on the 23rd August, 1728, and was succeeded by Edward Stephenson, who after actually holding office for a day and a half was superseded by John Deane on the night of the 18th

Stephenson accordingly returned to Cassimbazar where he remained another year. At the end of 1729 he resigned the chiefship of that place, and came down to Calcutta, whence he sailed for England on the *Eyles* at the beginning of 1730.¹

It was probably after his return home that "Governor" Stephenson married the lady whose death on the 24th February, 1744, is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.² In 1764 Orme, who was collecting materials for the second volume of his history wrote as follows to Stephenson³ :—

"CONCERNING THE EMBASSY TO FURRUCKSEER.

TO MR. STEVENSON.

SIR,

It is not impossible that you may have seen my work of the military transactions in India, and if your opinion of it has induced you to wish for the continuance of it, my present requests to you will carry their excuse with them ; otherwise this intrusion will scarce admit of an apology.

In order to explain the late revolutions in Bengal, it appears to me absolutely necessary to explain the embassy to Furruckshir on which you went with Mr. Surman. These papers are in the India house where I am suffered to peruse them, but from whence I am not permitted to take them. As I am very infirm it is very seldom that I can go there, and when there, my attention is distracted by the variety of clerks and business, which surround me. If you have these papers in your possession, I shall be very much obliged to you for the loan of them for a few days. I will take great care of them, and return them punctually at the limited time. Should you be induced to comply with this request I beg the favour you will omit no scrap however insignificant in appearance, for it has often happened that a few words lead to very material knowledge.

I have always looked upon the Phirmaunds, which you obtained from Furuckshir, as the Magna Charter of the Company until of late years. It is true that the great Phirmaund, as published by Mr. Frazer, seems to imply a general permission of trading to all places in all articles. But I much doubt whether the Mogul ever intended that we should extend our sales beyond what was importation from foreign parts, or our purchases beyond what was intended for exportation. At least I am sure that all the while I was in Bengal, no Englishman dared to trade in salt, beetle or tobacco, and if they carried any others of the productions of the country from one port to another of the province of Bengal, they were permitted only because the profits were known to be very small and not worth the attention of the

September. It was John Deane who, having thus become a second time Governor returned to Europe on the 25th February, 1732.

¹ See Bengal Public Consultations.

² *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1744, p. 108.

³ ORME COLLECTIONS XV. Letter from Mr. Orme to Mr. Stevenson, pp. 4131-4133.

natives to make a quarrel about. I should be glad, therefore, to know from you, Sir, who are the only man alive that can tell me, whether these restrictions were not intended, although they may not be expressed in the Phirmaund.

It was a report whilst I was in Bengal that you had obtained from the Mogul an addition of 84 villages to the ground which contained all the Company's territory ten years ago; that is from Perrings to Surman's garden: but that the Nabob Jaffier Khan set his face against this accession of territory, and would not suffer the company to take possession of it. It was likewise a common talk, that Mr. Surman offended Jaffier Khan on his return from Delhi, by asserting that the title of his Munsuf being higher than the Nabob's, the Nabob ought in some ceremonies, which were to pass between them, to give him the precedence. I was young when in Bengal and never thinking of the work I am now engaged in, took these stories as they were told at table talk, and having forgot one half of the particulars, have little confidence in, nor indeed a clear idea of the rest. But by the Phirmaund published by Mr. Frazer it appears that the Mogul only granted 40 vingas, that is about 30 acres of ground to any settlements which the Company might make in Bengal or Orissa. So that the 84 villages must have been, if granted at all, in a separate Phirmaund.

Again, Sir, I should be glad to know what particular and extraordinary oppressions from the Government the Company suffered, to induce them to be at the expense of your embassy.

It was in consequence of great oppressions that in the year 1685, the old Company sent out an armanent and ordered Job Chanock to fight. The papers of old date which came from abroad, are in such extreme confusion at the India House, that there is no possibility of divining where Job Chanock's letter to the Company, informing them of his expedition, lies; so that I despair of ever seeing it. Perhaps, Sir, you by being in India, not many years after that event, may be able to give some account of it. Where he marched from and to; whom he fought; and the success; which by a letter, wrote by the Directors after the expedition, seems to have been no wise satisfactory to them.

I am far from expecting that you should be at the trouble of giving me in writing all the details concerning the informations I want; but an hour's conversation with you will, I hope, be deemed no unreasonable request, although I am a perfect stranger to you. If, therefore, you will permit me to wait on you the first time you come to town, I shall be much obliged for notice the day before, when I can have the pleasure of seeing you at your house in Queen Square. All I can say, Sir, is, that as you are the only person living who can give me these informations, my obligation will be equal to the difficulty of obtaining them elsewhere, very great indeed.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

Harley Street, Cavendish Square,

R. ORME."

August 4th, 1764.

From this it would appear that Edward Stephenson at this time resided chiefly in the country, perhaps at Borfield Lodge, Essex, and only occasionally came to town where he had a house in Queen's Square. Orme has preserved the following "memorandums of a conversation¹:"

"Memorandums of a conversation with Edward Stephenson, Esq., who went on the Embassy to Furruckseer; taken on the same day I visited him January 17th, 1765.

He says that all the Lands in a province in Indostan excepting such as are governed by Rajahs, consist either of Colsa lands or Jagueers.

Jagueers are lands given to the Nabobs, Phousdars, or other Officers of the State, by the Crown, to be held only during their administration or continuance in favour, of which lands the temporary Lord receives the revenues or advantages, on condition that he keeps up the number of horse at which his Munsub or title of nobility is rated, and likewise the number of foot which are always in one settled proportion attached to the number of horse, this Mr. Stephenson believes to be double. So that a Munsub of 4,000 horse is to maintain besides those 4,000 horse, 8,000 foot, and he receives the rents of his Jagueer without deductions or taxes due to the Crown.

The Colsa lands are such as being neither governed by Rajahs, nor portioned into Jagueers remain to the Moorish Government to be administered by their own officers. All the Colsa lands are under the administration of the Duan, who farms them out to Renters for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. years, and the rents forthcoming from them are brought by the Duan into his account with the Emperor.

The territories governed by Rajahs are for the most part the same, which the ancestors of these Rajahs ruled at the time of conquest. It sometimes likewise has happened that Rajahs, who for the convenience of the Government, have been removed out of their hereditary lands, have been placed in other vacant territories.

These Rajahs govern according to the ancient institutions of their forefathers over the Indians their subjects; but over Mahomedans established in their territory they have not except by particular permission any authority of life or corporal punishment, for a Mahomedan always calls upon the Koran and the Cadi who is the interpreter of the Koran for this [his] Judge.

The Rajahs pay the stipulated tribute to the Duan.

The Duan therefore must be an officer of very great power, equal almost to the Nabob, His functions are:

- 1st. Supreme authority over the Colsah lands in all cases where the land is concerned.

¹ ORME COLLECTIONS O. V. 12, pp. 107-109.

2nd. Receiver general of all the Customs established in the Mogul's name. In the Jagueer lands the Nabob or Jaggueer Lord collects the customs, but cannot impose them in detriment to the interests of the Crown, against the will of the Duan. In the Rajahs' lands the Rajahs have likewise the same rights as the Nabobs in the Jaggueer lands; but with the same limitations.

3rd. He is Agent for the Crown or rather Executor to the estates of all the feudatories who die.

The dependance which the Duan has on the Nabob consists in being obliged to apply to him for forces, for keeping in order the Rajahs or the Colsah inhabitants who do not regularly and punctually pay their debts to the Crown."

Whether Orme ever saw Stephenson again, whether they ever talked upon any other points, I cannot say, but perhaps Stephenson was too infirm to enter into lengthy discussions. Three years later, on the 7th September, 1768, "Governor" Stephenson died at his house in Queen's Square;¹ and was buried in the family vault at Keswick in Cumberland.² He left no will and the administration of his property was granted on the 23rd September "to John Stephenson, Esq., the natural and lawful brother and next of kin of the said deceased."³ John Stephenson died in 1771, aged 72, at Mount Pleasant.⁴ He left a very lengthy will, of which the most important provisions are the following⁵:—

I, John Stephenson, late of East St., Red Lion Square, London, but now of Tottenham High Cross, Esquire, make my will. Body to be burried in my family vault at Keswick, Cumberland, where my late brother Edward Stephenson is interred. I give and bequeath, unto Rev. Mr. Christian of Keswick, clerk, £50; to Henry Littledale gent, £500; to William Battie, doctor of Physic, £20; my steward Joseph Clarke of Bodybury, Kent, Hannah Wilson of Keswick, my Steward William Graham of Sikeside, Cumberland, Hannah Basford, John Fletcher, (servant of my son Edward Stephenson) each £20 for mourning. To Anthony Askew, of Queen's Square, London, doctor of physic, and my cousin Rowland Stephenson, of Lombard St., London, Banker, my two Executors, £500 each. To James Farrer, of Bread St. Hill, gent, and Thomas Lewis of Theobald's Row, London, carpenter, my Trustees, £500, each.

William Battie and Anthony Askew to have care of my son. To James Farrer and Thomas Lewis, heirs and assigns, all my freehold and copyhold;

¹ See Gentleman's Magazine for 1768, Vol. 38, pp. 447, 494.

² See the Will of John Stephenson given below.

³ P. C. C., A. A. 1768.

⁴ Gentleman's Magazine for 1771, p. 239.

⁵ Proved 1771. P. C. C. Trevor, No. 230.

manors, messuages, lands, etc., for uses herein after expressed:—viz:
£1000 yearly for use and support of Edward Stephenson, my son, during
life and heirs if my son die without issue ... then to Anthony Askew,

.....
For these details I am indebted to Mr. F. A. Winder, who also tells
me that Edward Stephenson built "Governor House," Keswick, and
that a descendant of the family is still living in Paris at a place called
"Governor's House." The following inscription is cut in stone on the
chancel floor of Crosthwaite Parish Church.

" EDWARD STEPHENSON, ESQUIRE,

" late Governor

" of Bengal.

" Ob^t. Sep. 7, 1768.

" Ætat. 77."



The discovery of a work by Āryadēva in Sanskrit.—By MAHĀMAHŌPĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College.

[Read January, 1898.]

When in Nepal I paid a visit to His Excellency Dēva Shamshēr Jang Rānā Bahādur, Commander-in-Chief of the Nepal Army. At the interview were present a Hindu Paṇḍit and a Buddhist Bḥḍā. There was a collection of Manuscripts and I was asked by His Excellency if I knew anything of these Manuscripts. There were some volumes of the *Ḣa-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, a MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* written in the reign of Rāmapāla who is said to have been a king of Eastern Bengal and who reigned about the year 1000 A.D.; a MS. of a work on the influence of the heavenly bodies on human diseases. But there was a bundle of palm-leaves which I could not identify at first sight. It had no beginning and apparently no end. I solicited the permission of His Excellency to give me an opportunity of examining the MS., once more. It was therefore deposited with the Head Master of the Durbar School, Bābū Phanibhūṣaṇa Adhikārī. I called on him a few days later, examined the MS. very carefully and took a copy of it in Bengali. It was written in old Nēvārī and was in many places altogether obliterated. The first leaf was missing. There were eight leaves from 2 to 9 but the obverse side of the 7th was altogether illegible. There were altogether 125 verses from 6 to 131. Of the 6th verse only the last two caraṇas remain. Of the 3rd caraṇa the first letter was missing. That letter I had no difficulty in guessing. It was *Ma* because the second leaf begins with the letters *hāyāne*. After the 131st verse the following statement occurs.

इतिरियं आर्थदेवपादानामिति ॥ स्वपरार्थहेतुना स्वात्र (?) हस्तिनेति
शुभं मये लिखितम् । यथात्मनः प्रियाः प्राणाः सर्वेषां प्राणिनां तथा ।

The name of the work is not given but it is stated in the colophon that it was the work of Āryadēva a name familiar to every reader of Buddhist Literature, and especially of the Siyuki. He was a disciple

of Nāgārjuna and one of those great men who helped the spread of the Mahāyāna doctrines of Buddhism. Beal says, "he had a great contempt for external forms of worship. 'A Spirit' he said, is 'Spiritual.' We are not surprised to find therefore, that his teaching was of a mystical character." I find, the same thing exemplified before me. Thus he speaks of the bathing in the Ganges in my Manuscript:—

इत्थं अशुचिसम्भूतः पिण्डो ह्यशुचिपूरितः ।
 कथं सन् तादृशः कायो गङ्गास्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ ६० ॥
 न ह्यशुचिघटस्तोयैः क्षालितोऽपि पुनः पुनः ।
 तद्वदशुचिसम्पूर्णः पिण्डोऽपि न विशुध्यति ॥ ६१ ॥
 प्रतरन्नपि गङ्गायां नैव श्वा शुद्धिमर्हति ।
 तस्मात् धर्मेधियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानं तु निष्फलम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 धर्मो यदि भवेत् स्नानात् कैवर्त्तानां कृतार्थता ।
 नक्तं दिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनान् का कथा ॥ ६३ ॥
 पापक्षयोऽपि स्नानेन नैव स्यादिति निश्चयः ।
 यतो रागादिबुद्धिस्तु दृश्यते तीर्थसेविनाम् ॥ ६४ ॥

Thus this lump (of flesh, meaning the human body) is produced by and is full of impure substances. How can it be purified by bathing in the Ganges? An impure waterpot though washed again and again by water, cannot be pure; so the lump full of impurities can never be pure. A dog swimming in the Ganges is not considered pure, therefore the bathing in holy places is absolutely useless. If bathing can confer merit the fishermen are very meritorious, not to speak of the fishes and others who are immersed in water, day and night. It is certain that from bathing sin even is not dissipated because people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages are full of love, hatred, &c.

Thus in the course of five short verses, Āryadēva denounces the uselessness not only of bathing in the Ganges but of all bathings and pilgrimages. They are not only incapable of conferring merit but are also incapable of dissipating sin.

The ninth verse of the MS. corresponds to the first verse of the Dhammapada in Pali but the Pali verse has six caranās while my verse has four only. The last letter of the second caranā is *manōjavāḥ* in my MS. while in Pali it is *manōmayā*.

The work appears to be a complete one as at the end Āryadēva says:

चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय यन्मयोपार्जितं शुभम् ।
 चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय तेनास्तु सुखिनो जनाः ॥

Let people be happy by making their hearts pure by the merit which I have acquired by making my heart pure.

Then comes the colophon ; after the colophon we have the name of the scribe and then a portion of the well-known formula यथात्मनः प्रियाः प्राणाः सर्वेषां प्राणिनां तथा । The writer apparently had no space in the leaf to complete the couplet and at first sight I could not make out that the work came to an end there.

(म)हायाने सुविस्पष्टमुक्तमेतत् सुविस्तरम् ॥ ६ ।
 धर्म्मपुद्गलनैरात्म्याच्चित्तमात्रं जगौ मुनिः ।
 ततोऽपि सर्व्वमुत्पन्नं गमकं सुनिराकुलम् ॥ ७ ॥
 भावग्रहप्रभावेण(प्रह्लावेण) गृहीतान् प्रति चोदितम् ।
 आगमेऽपि हि सुव्यक्तं विस्तरं कथयतात्मना ॥ ८ ॥
 मनःपूर्व्वङ्गमा धर्म्मा मनः श्रेष्ठं मनोजवाः ।
 मनसा च प्रदुष्टेन भाषते वा करोति वा ॥ ९ ॥
 खपिता भिक्षुणादिष्टः शीघ्रं गच्छति प्रेरितम् ।
 आयुष्य च मृते तस्मिन्नानन्तर्य्येण गृह्यते ॥ १० ॥
 खग्लानेनार्हतादिष्टः खगलं परिपीडितम् ।
 उपस्थायकभिक्षुः स मृते तस्मिन्न दोषभाक् ॥ ११ ॥
 अन्यसङ्गीनि चाल्यन्तु मारयन् दोषमश्नुते ।
 इत्युक्तं विनये व्यक्तं न दोषो ऽदुष्टचेतसाम् ॥ १२ ॥
 न स्तूपखलगे दोषस्तत्संस्कारधिया मतम् ।
 केवलं पुण्यराशिः स्यादुखानन्तर्य्यकारिणाम् ॥ १३ ॥
 उपानयुगलं दत्वा मुनेर्मूर्द्धि शुभाशयात् ।
 अपनीय तथा चान्यं राज्यं फलमवाप्नुतः ॥ १४ ॥
 तस्मादाश्रयमूला हि पापकर्म्मव्यवस्थितिः ।
 इत्युक्तमागमे यस्मात् नापत्तिः शुभचेतसाम् ॥ १५ ॥
 स्वाधिदेवतयोगात्मा जगदर्ध्वतोद्यमः ।
 भुञ्जानो विषयान् योगान्मुच्यते न चलिष्यति ॥ १६ ॥
 यथैव विषतत्वज्ञो विषमालोक्य भक्षयन् ।
 केवलं मुच्यते नासौ रोगमुक्तश्च जायते ॥ १७ ॥
 मायामरीचि-गन्धर्व्वनगर-स्रप्रसन्निभम् ।
 जगत्सर्व्वं समालोक्य किं कथं केन मुच्यते ॥ १८ ॥

* 19th verse is not in the MS.

बाला मज्जन्ति रूपेषु वैराग्यं यान्ति मध्यमाः ।
 स्वभावज्ञा विमुच्यन्ते रूपस्योत्तमबुद्धयः ॥ २० ॥
 विचिन्त्य समयं सर्वं देवतापूजनाविधिम् ।
 शुद्धमालोक्य निःशङ्कं भोक्तव्यं मन्त्रचोदितम् ॥ २१ ॥
 श्रोत्र्यं बोध्यं तथा दीप्यं अङ्कुरत्रययोगतः ।
 अनामाङ्गुष्ठवक्त्राभ्यां प्रीणयेच्च तद्यागतान् ॥ २२ ॥
 यत् सत्यमिति बालानां तन्मिथ्या खलु योगिनाम् ।
 कायेनैव तु सम्प्राप्तं न बद्धो न च मुच्यते ॥ २३ ॥
 संसारं चैव निर्व्याणं मन्यन्ते तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।
 न संसारं न निर्व्याणं मन्यन्ते तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ २४ ॥
 विकल्पो हि महाप्राहः संसारोदधिपाटकः ।
 अविकल्पा महात्मानो मुच्यन्ते भवबन्धनात् ॥ २५ ॥
 शङ्काविषेण बाध्यन्ते विषेणैव पृथक्जनाः ।
 तामेवोत्खाल्य निर्मूलं विचरेत् करुणात्मकः ॥ २६ ॥
 यद्यैकः स्फटिकः स्वच्छः पररागेण रज्यते ।
 तथैव चित्तरत्नन्तु कल्पनारागरञ्जितम् ॥ २७ ॥
 प्रकृते कल्पनारागैर्विविक्तं चित्तरत्नकम् ।
 आदिशुद्धमनुत्पन्नं निजरूपमनाविलम् ॥ २८ ॥
 तत्तद्वत्त्वेन कर्तव्यं यद्यदात्मविगर्हितम् ।
 स्वाधिदैवतयोगेन चित्तनिर्मलकारिणा ॥ २९ ॥
 रागाग्निविषसंयुक्ता योगिनां शुद्धचेतसा ।
 कामिताः खलु कामिन्यः कामामोच्यफलावहाः ॥ ३० ॥
 यथा खगरुडं ध्यात्वा गारुडिको विषं पिवन् ।
 करोति हि विषं सार्धं न विषेणाभिभूयते ॥ ३१ ॥
 द्वादशयोजनव्यासं चक्रं वै शिरसि भ्रमन् ।
 बोधिचित्तमनुत्पाद्य आपनौतमिति श्रुतिः ॥ ३२ ॥
 बोधिचित्तं समुत्पाद्य सम्बोध्यै कृतचेतसा ।
 तन्नास्ति यन्न कर्तव्यं जगदुद्धरणाश्रया ॥ ३३ ॥
 आदिशुद्धमनुत्पन्नं निःस्वभावमनाविलम् ।
 जगत् भावेन संपश्यन्न बद्धो न च मुच्यते ॥ ३४ ॥

विचिन्त्य विधिवद्योगी देवतागुणविस्तरम् ।
 रागयेत् रागचित्तेन रज्यते न च मुच्यते ॥ ३५ ॥
 किं कुर्मः कलया लभ्या विचित्रा भावशक्तयः ।
 विषाज्जा(त्रा)तो यथा कश्चिद्विषेणैव तु निर्विषः ॥ ३६ ॥
 कर्णाज्जलं जलेनैव कण्ठकेनैव कण्ठकम् ।
 रागेणैव तथा रागमुद्धरन्ति मनीषिणः ॥ ३७ ॥
 यथैव रजको वस्त्रं मलेनैव तु निर्मलम् ।
 कुर्याद्विज्ञस्तथात्मानं मलेनैव तु निर्मलम् ॥ ३८ ॥
 यथा भवति संशुद्धो रजोनिवृष्टदर्पणः ।
 सेवितस्तु तथा विज्ञेर्दोषादोषविनाशनः ॥ ३९ ॥
 लोहपिण्डो जले क्षिप्तो मज्जत्येव तु केवलम् ।
 पात्रीकृतं तदेवान्यं तारयेत् तरति स्वयम् ॥ ४० ॥
 तद्वत् पात्रीकृतं चित्तं प्रज्ञोपायविधानतः ।
 भुञ्जानो मुच्यते कामं मोचयत्यपरानपि ॥ ४१ ॥
 दुर्विज्ञैः सेवितः कामः कामो भवति बन्धनम् ।
 स एव सेवितो विज्ञैः कामो मोक्षप्रसाधकः ॥ ४२ ॥
 प्रसिद्धं सहस्रालोक्य द्वारं विषविनाशनम् ।
 तदेव फणिभिः पीतं सुतरां विषवर्द्धनम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 जले क्षीरं यथाविष्टं हंसः पिवति पण्डितः ।
 सविधान् विषयांस्तद्वद्भुक्तमुक्तञ्च पण्डितः ॥ ४४ ॥
 यथैव विधिवद्भुक्तं विषमप्यमृतायते ।
 दुर्भुक्तं घृतपूरादि बालानान्तु विषायते ॥ ४५ ॥
 इदमेव हि यच्चित्तं प्रोद्धितं हेतुभिः शुभैः ।
 निर्विकल्पं निरालम्बं भाति प्रकृतिनिर्मलम् ॥ ४६ ॥
 यथा वह्निः कृशोऽप्येष तैलवृत्त्यादिसंस्कृतः ।
 दीपो निर्मलनिष्कम्पः स्थिरस्तिमिरनाशनः ॥ ४७ ॥
 वटवीजं यथा सूक्ष्मं सहकारसमन्वितं ।
 शाखा-मूल-फलोपेतं महावृक्षविधायकं ॥ ४८ ॥
 हरिद्राचूर्णसंयोगाद्वर्णान्तरमिति स्मृतं ।
 प्रज्ञोपायसमायोगाद्बन्धनधातुं तथा विदुः ॥ ४९ ॥

दृष्टञ्च मधुसंयुक्तं समांसं विषतां व्रजेत् ।
 तदेव विधिवद्भुक्तमुत्कृष्टन्तु रसायनं ॥ ५० ॥
 रसस्पृष्टं यथा ताम्रं निर्दोषकाञ्चनं व्रजेत् ।
 ज्ञानद्विधास्तथा क्लेशाः क्लेशाः कल्याणकारकाः ॥ ५१ ॥
 ह्रीनयानाभिरूढानां मृत्युशङ्का पदेपदे ।
 संग्रामजयतुन्नेन (स्तु तेषां) दूर एव व्यवस्थितः ॥ ५२ ॥
 महायानाभिरूढस्तु करुणाधर्मवर्मितः ।
 कृपानयधनुर्वाणो जगदुद्धरणाश्रयः ॥ ५३ ॥
 महासत्त्वो महोपायः स्थिरबुद्धिरतन्द्रितः ।
 जित्वा दुस्तरसंग्रामं तारयन्त्यपरानपि ॥ ५४ ॥
 पश्यवोऽपि हि क्षिप्रं हन्ते स्वार्थमात्रपरायणाः ।
 जगदर्थविधातारो धन्यास्ते विरला जनाः ॥ ५५ ॥
 श्रौतवातादिदुःखानि सहन्ते स्वार्थलम्पटाः ।
 जगदर्थप्रवृत्तास्ते न सहन्ते कथं नु ते ॥ ५६ ॥
 नारकाण्यपि दुःखानि सोढव्यानि कृपालुभिः ।
 श्रौतवातादिदुःखानि कस्तान्यपि विचारयेत् ॥ ५७ ॥
 नानिष्टकल्पनां कुर्यान्नोपवासं न च क्रियाम् ।
 स्नानशौचं न चैवात्र ग्रामधर्मं विवर्जयेत् ॥ ५८ ॥
 नखदन्तास्थिमज्जानः पितुः शुक्रविकारजाः ।
 मांसशोणितकेशादि मातृशोणितसम्भवम् ॥ ५९ ॥
 इत्यमशुचिसम्मतः पिण्डो ह्यशुचिपूरितः ।
 कथं सन् तादृशः कायो गङ्गास्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ ६० ॥
 न ह्यशुचिघटस्तोयैः क्षालितोऽपि पुनः पुनः ।
 तद्वदशुचिसम्पर्णः पिण्डोऽपि न विशुध्यति ॥ ६१ ॥
 प्रतरन्नपि गङ्गायां नैव श्वा शुद्धिमर्हति ।
 तस्माद्धर्मधियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानन्तु निष्फलम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 धर्म्मो यदि भवेत् स्नानात् कैवर्त्तानां कृतार्थता ।
 नक्तन्दिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनान्तु का कथा ॥ ६३ ॥
 पापक्षयोऽपि स्नानेन नैव स्यादिति निश्चयः ।
 यतो रागादिबुद्धिस्तु दृश्यते तीर्थसेविनाम् ॥ ६४ ॥

रागो द्वेषश्च मोहश्च ईर्ष्या तृष्णा च सर्व्वदा ।
 पापानां मूलमाख्यातं नैषां खानेन शोधनम् ॥ ६५ ॥
 आत्मात्मौघग्रहादेते सम्भवन्तीह जन्मिनाम् ।
 अविद्याहेतुकः सोऽपि अविद्या भ्रान्तिरिष्यते ॥ ६६ ॥
 रौप्यबुद्धिर्यथा शुक्तौ शुक्तिदृष्टे निवर्त्तते ।
 नैरात्म्यदर्शनात् सापि निर्मूलमवसीदति ॥ ६७ ॥
 सर्पबुद्धिर्यथा रज्जौ रज्जुदृष्टे निवर्त्तते ।
 सर्पबुद्धिः पुनस्तत्र नैव स्यादिह जन्मनि ॥ ६८ ॥
 सत्यबुद्धिस्तथाऽत्रापि वञ्चज्ञानान्निवर्त्तते ।
 न भूयः सम्भवेत्तत्र दग्धवौज इवाङ्गरः ॥ ६९ ॥
 नैरात्म्यशुचिसंख्यः पिण्डः प्रकृतिनिर्मलः ।
 तस्य सन्तापने धर्मः कथं बालैर्विकल्पितः ॥ ७० ॥
 चन्द्रोदयव्ययश्चापि अपक्षतिथिकल्पना ।
 सूर्योदयव्ययेनापि दिवारात्रिव्यवस्थितिः ॥ ७१ ॥
 पूर्व्वोदयवहाराख्यः शुब्दत्रयविकल्पना ।
 वारनक्षत्रराश्यादि सर्व्वलोका विकल्पितम् ॥ ७२ ॥
 श्रौतोष्णवर्षणापेक्षं तथैवमृतुकल्पना ।
 स्वकर्मफलभोगोऽयं शुभाशुभग्रहादितः ॥ ७३ ॥
 अविद्याकर्द्दमालिप्तं चित्तचिन्तामणिः पुमान् ।
 प्रवृत्तः क्षालितुं विद्वान् कोऽविद्यां दृष्टयेत्पुनः ॥ ७४ ॥
 न वारतिथिनक्षत्रदेशकालाद्यपेक्षणात् ।
 विहरन्निर्विकल्पस्तु निर्निमित्तमशङ्कितः ॥ ७५ ॥
 यद्यदिन्द्रियमार्गतं यायात्तत्तत् स्वभावतः ।
 सुसमाहितयोगेन सर्व्वबुद्धमयं वहैत् ॥ ७६ ॥
 चक्षुर्विरोचनो बुद्धः श्रवणो वक्षश्चक्षुः ।
 घ्राणश्च परमाद्यैस्तु पद्मनर्तेश्वरो मुखम् ॥ ७७ ॥
 कायः श्रीहरको राजा वक्षसत्वश्च मानसम् ।
 एवं सम्यक् यदा योगी विचरेत् करुणात्मकः ॥ ७८ ॥
 सिद्धान्तो निर्विकल्पोऽसौ स्थिरकल्पस्तु धौधनः ।
 यथेष्टचेष्टाव्याहारी सर्व्वभुक् सर्व्वदत्तथा ॥ ७९ ॥

सर्वकामक्रियाकारौ यथा सचिरचेष्टितम् ।
 उत्थितो वा निषण्णो वा चंक्रमो वा स्वयन्तथा ॥ ८० ॥
 अमण्डलप्रविष्टो वा सर्वावरणवानपि ।
 स्वाधिदैवतयोगात्मा मन्दपुण्योऽपि सिध्यति ॥ ८१ ॥
 अनेन सर्वसौख्यं सर्वबुद्धत्वमेव च ।
 जन्मनीहैव तत्त्वज्ञः संप्राप्नोति न संशयः ॥ ८२ ॥
 यथा प्राकृतको लोको योगिलोकेन बाध्यते ।
 बाध्यन्ते धीविशेषेण योगिनोऽप्युत्तरोत्तरैः ॥ ८३ ॥
 महाप्रज्ञा महोपाया महाह्यपाधिमोक्षतः ॥
 महायानसमुद्दिष्टं महासत्त्वस्य गोचरम् ॥ ८४ ॥
 यत्कल्पनामसंख्यायै न प्राप्तं बद्धभिर्मतैः ।
 जन्मन्यत्रैव बुद्धत्वं प्राप्यते न च संशयः ॥ ८५ ॥
 महायानस्य माहात्म्यात् पुण्यज्ञानस्य सम्भवः ।
 सर्वज्ञत्वपदं रम्यं सद्यो जन्मनि लभ्यते ॥ ८६ ॥
 आगमश्रुतिचिन्ता तु महायाने तु गृह्यते ।
 आश्रयानुश्रयाभेदाद्यानभेदः प्रकाश्यते ॥ ८७ ॥
 अन्यत्र बोधिमोक्षोऽयमन्यथा बोधिचारिका ॥
 अन्या चित्तविशुद्धिश्च फलमन्यदिहोच्यते ॥ ८८ ॥
 समीपं निर्मलादर्शं चिरं निर्मलचक्षुषः ।
 यथा भाति सुविस्पष्टं स्वच्छप्रकृतिनिर्मलम् ॥ ८९ ॥
 विधूतकल्पनाजालं विस्पष्टशुद्धचेतसा ।
 योगिनाञ्च तथा ज्ञानं प्रज्ञानिर्मलदर्पणैः ॥ ९० ॥
 सूर्यकान्तसमाश्लिष्टसूर्यकान्तमणौ यथा ।
 सहसा प्रज्वलत्यग्निः समर्थः स्वार्थसाधने ॥ ९१ ॥
 अपास्तकल्पनाजालं सूर्यकान्तनिभं मनः ।
 प्रज्ञासूर्याश्रुसंश्लिष्टं तद्वज्ज्वलति योगिनाम् ॥ ९२ ॥
 काष्ठद्वयनिघर्षेण यथा ज्वलति पावकः ।
 आदिमथ्यान्तसंशुद्धः स वै वस्तुप्रसाधकः ॥ ९३ ॥
 प्रज्ञोपायसमायोगाद्योगाद् ज्ञानं तथा विदुः ।
 यथैवैकप्रदीपोऽयं वर्त्यन्तरसमाश्रितः ॥ ९४ ॥

यथा स्थानं यथा स्वार्थं करोत्युच्चैः प्रकाशनम् ।
 नानाधिसुक्तिस्त्वनानां यथाकृत्यमनुष्ठयेत् ॥ ८५ ॥
 निर्दोषं श्रूतत्वं हृद्यं सर्वव्याधिविनाशनम् ।
 प्रज्ञाक्षीरमहोपायचिरद्वयमथनोत्थितम् ॥ ८६ ॥
 स्फुरणानन्तमूर्तिस्तु प्रज्ञोपायविभावनैः ।
 विधिज्ञो हि यथा कश्चित् क्षीरादमृतमुद्धरेत् ॥ ८७ ॥
 विशुद्धधर्मधातुः स शुभाशुभविनाशनः ।
 यथा लतासमुद्भूतं फलपुष्पसमन्वितम् ॥ ८८ ॥
 यथैकक्षणासंबोधिः संभारद्वयसंयुता ।
 धर्षणाकर्षणादिकम् ॥ ८९ ॥
 मद्यमांसरतो योगी कुर्वन्पुण्यलभ्यते ।
 मादर्शः समीक्ष्यते ॥ ९० ॥
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 पञ्च बुद्धात्मकं शुक्रं शोणितञ्चापि तादृशम् ॥ ९०२ ॥
 तन्मयः खलु पिण्डोऽयं को विप्रः कश्च वान्त्यजः ।
 सर्वं शरीरं खलु भिन्नवः ॥ ९०३ ॥
 अनित्यं दुःखशून्यञ्च न जातिर्न च जातिवान् ।
 कैवर्त्तीर्गर्भसम्भूतः कश्चिच्च ॥ ९०४ ॥
 चित्तं यथा सुखं ध्यायन् सम्बुद्धोऽयमनागतः ।
 सर्वकामोपभोगोऽस्तु रमथ मुक्ततोऽभयात् ॥ ९०५ ॥
 मा भैष्ठा नास्ति वः पापं समयो दुरतिक्रमः ।
 मन्त्रसंस्कृतकाष्ठादि देवत्वमधिगच्छति ॥ ९०६ ॥
 किं पुनः ज्ञानवान् कायः कार्यमोहविचेष्टितम् ।
 प्राकृतत्वमहङ्कारं परित्यज्य समाहितः ॥ ९०७ ॥
 प्रज्ञोपायविधानेन क्रियामिमाङ्गमाचरेत् ।
 पङ्कजातं यथा पद्मं पङ्कदोषैर्न लिप्यते ॥ ९०८ ॥
 विकल्पवासनादोषैस्तथा योगी न लिप्यते ।
 अनादिवासनापङ्कजैर्विलिप्तं चित्तरत्नकम् ॥ ९०९ ॥
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 साधिदैवतयोगस्य स्थिरचित्तस्य धीमतः ॥ ९१० ॥

मुक्तः कुट्टिमेष्वैव भासते चित्तभास्करः ।
 सहसा कल्पना घटे ॥ ११८ ॥
 प्रकृत्या निर्मलः स्वच्छो ज्ञानदीपः प्रकाशते ।
 सुप्रसिद्धानि भूतानि क्षित्यग्निजलवायवः ॥ ११९ ॥
 क्रियन्ते ह्यन्यथा विज्ञैर्मन्त्रसामर्थ्ययोगतः ।
 सर्ववादपरित्यज्य समाचरेत् ॥ १२० ॥
 यस्य मन्त्रस्य सामर्थ्यं सूक्ष्मदेवोऽपि सिध्यति ।
 स्त्रीरत्नं न परित्याज्यं बोधिचित्तं तथा गुरुम् ॥ १२१ ॥
 न ह्यात्मा प्राणिनः केऽपि समयानप्यधिष्ठयेत् ।
 महारत्नं सकर्पूरं रत्नचन्दनयोजितम् ॥ १२२ ॥
 अलिपञ्चादिकञ्चैव पद्मैतानप्यधिष्ठयेत् ।
 अन्यैश्च समयैर्द्रव्यैश्चित्तस्योत्कर्षकारकैः ॥ १२३ ॥
 मारुतक्षोभशान्त्यर्थं प्रीणयेच्चित्तवच्छिणम् ।
 मक्षिकापदमात्रेण विषेणाप्यभिभूयते ॥ १२४ ॥
 अणुमात्रां घृणां लज्जां दूरतः परिवर्जयेत् ।
 आन्तरालिकभावस्तु व्यर्था वै पतनं यथा ॥ १२५ ॥
 गुरोराज्ञाञ्च मुद्राञ्च ह्यायामपि न लङ्घयेत् ।
 गुणास्तस्य परं ग्राह्यं दोषा नैव कदाचन ॥ १२६ ॥
 भयुद्धं(?) वाचरं विज्ञाः स्वपरायतनमेव वा ।
 आचार्यः परमो देवः पूजनौयः प्रयत्नतः ।
 स्वयं वज्रधरो राजा साक्षाद्रूपेण संस्थितः ॥ १२७ ॥
 यथोदकमणिः सम्यक् कलुषोदकशोषकः ।
 सद्ब्रह्माणस्तथा प्रोक्ताश्चित्तरत्नविशोधकः ॥ १२८ ॥
 श्रद्धावान् पूज्यते क्वापि प्रज्ञाचक्षुर्विवर्जितः ।
 उत्पादयेदतः प्रज्ञामागमाधिगमात्मिकाम् ॥ १२९ ॥
 श्राद्धो बज्रश्रुतः प्राज्ञो प्रकृत्या करुणात्मकः ।
 जगदुःखविनाशाय सुखोपायं स विन्दति ॥ १३० ॥
 चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय यन्मयोपार्जितं शुभं ।
 चित्तविशुद्धिमाधाय तेनास्तु सुखिनो जनाः ॥
 कृतिरियमार्थदेवपादानामिति ॥
 स्वपरार्थहेतुना खात्र हरितन्नेति शुभं मये लिखितम् ।
 यथात्मानः प्रियाः प्राणाः सर्वेषां प्राणिनान्तथा ।

Note on a Dialect of Gujarātī discovered in the District of Midnapur.—By

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[Read July, 1898.]

Several interesting facts have come to light during the progress of the Linguistic Survey. Amongst them may be mentioned the discovery of a number of people who speak a dialect of Gujarātī in the Dāntan thānā of the Bengal District of Midnapur.

Amongst the languages returned to me as spoken in that District was Siyālgiri. The Siyālgirs are a criminal, nomadic tribe, numbering about 120 souls, who have a language of their own. They are not mentioned by Dalton or by Mr. Risley in their Ethnographical works. This language was unintelligible to the other inhabitants of the District, and was believed "to resemble Santālī." This was an easy supposition to make, as there are some 118,000 Santālīs in the District, whose language is equally unintelligible to the multitude.

In order to obtain materials for the second part of the Survey, specimens of every language spoken in each District are being collected. The specimens are all to consist of translations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and in order to assist the preparation of these, books of translations of the parable which had been already made into the principal languages of India have been distributed to the translators. Included in these last was a Gujarātī version. In sending the Siyālgiri version to me, the Collector of Midnapur drew attention to the remarkable points of resemblance between it and the Gujarātī version to which I have just alluded. An examination of the Siyālgiri specimen fully justified the Collector's remarks. The very first sentence is almost pure Gujarātī. The resemblance was so unexpected that I thought it advisable to make further enquiries, so as to make sure that the specimen is a genuine one. There can now be no doubt on that point. The translation had originally been obtained through the kind offices of Babu Krishna Kisor Acharji, the Secretary of the Midnapur District Board, and that gentleman has been good enough to send me the following note on the subject.

"A Sub-Inspector of Schools under the District Board was deputed to Dāntan with copies of the English and Bengali versions of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and he got the parable translated into the Siyālgirī dialect with the help of two men belonging to that tribe and of the Sub-Inspector of Police, Dāntan.

These two Siyālgirīs were both by their age and intelligence, best able to translate the parable, and as they could speak both Bengali and Hindī the parable was fully and correctly explained to them before they translated it, and so it is certain that they perfectly understood what they had to translate.

I then went through the translation very carefully, and by comparing it with the specimens of other dialects given in the printed book became convinced that it was altogether a separate dialect resembling Gujarātī.

Neither the Sub-Inspector of Schools nor the Sub-Inspector of Police knows Gujarātī, and I do not think the two Siyālgirīs who translated the parable of the Prodigal Son into the language spoken by them have ever heard of Gujarāt or know anything of Gujarātī.

In these circumstances there is I should think no room for doubt that the specimen sent correctly represents the dialect spoken by the Siyālgirīs.

I have since obtained some additional particulars relating to the Siyālgirīs which I beg to give below with a view to facilitate their identification with any other tribe in India.

Unfortunately there is nothing like tradition prevalent among them as to whence they came and when they came to Dāntan. This is apparently due to their having been a wandering tribe for many generations before they came and settled in this district. People like the Siyālgirīs generally have a short memory, and they do not appear to have any songs or ballads in their language throwing any light on their previous history.

They do not even know whether there are any other sections of their tribe living in any other part of India.

In this district the Siyālgirīs are found in the following villages :—

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Nimpur. | 4. Dhukurda. |
| 2. Gōmunda. | 5. Saipur. |
| 3. Lālmōhanpatna. | |

And also in Suga and Simla in District Balasore.

From the information that I have been able to collect regarding this tribe it would seem that they first appeared in this district about 150 years ago.

During this period both their manners and customs have become thoroughly Hinduised.

They are now divided into four classes :—

- | | |
|--------------------|---------|
| 1. Jānā. | 3. Dās. |
| 2. Pātrā or Pātar. | 4. Har. |

All these are Hindu patronyms.

How they became so subdivided—either by intermarriage with their Hindu neighbours, or by their desire to raise themselves up to the level of

the latter by assuming their patronyms—is not known. But the contempt with which they are treated by the Hindūs, owing to their thieving propensity, precludes the possibility of intermarriage between these two classes of people. Indeed the name of Siyālgirī has become a bye-word—a term of reproach—and whenever a Hindū takes to thieving as his profession he is said to have turned a Siyālgirī.

The Siyālgirīs have Brāhmaṇs for their priests, and so they have lost all traces of their original religion—if they had any when they first came into the district. These Brāhmaṇs do not appear to have come with them, for most of those who officiate as priests at the religious ceremonies performed by the Siyālgirīs belong to the class of low-caste indigenous Brāhmaṇs, and in society they occupy the same position as the Brāhmaṇs of Muchīs, Chamārs, and other similar castes.

They worship the same gods and goddesses as their Hindū neighbours. But their widows remarry and they bury their dead.

They do not appear to have any peculiar custom as to inheritance. As most of them are generally very poor and leave very little property when they die, the Siyālgirīs abide by the decision arrived at by their priests in the event of any dispute arising as to inheritance in any particular case.

I do not think these details will be of any material help in tracing the origin of this tribe whose appearance in Midnapur, occurring at a time beyond the memory of the present generation, cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

Their features also do not give any clue as to their origin. If they had any peculiarity it has disappeared altogether, and the Siyālgirīs can now be hardly distinguished from ordinary Bengali peasants.

It is therefore through their dialect alone that their origin can now be traced, and it is for these reasons that I give here the Siyālgirī equivalents for “salt” and “curry”—the two most common necessities of life—which they call मिठु (*mīṭhu* = sweet) and खालन् (*Khālan* for Hindi *Sālan*) respectively.

The other peculiarities of their dialect will appear from the specimen already submitted.

An examination of the specimen shows that the language is a variety of the language of the Bhils. The Bhils speak a corrupt form of Gujarātī, and Siyālgirī agrees with Bhili when it differs from the standard form of that language. Thus, the Gujarātī for “I” is *hū*, but the Bhili is *mō*, and the Siyālgirī is *nu*. There are some words which, so far as I am aware, are not in Bhili, and which I have been unable to identify as belonging to any known language, Muṇḍā, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, or Aryan, of India. Such are *badithēi* meaning “against,” *āgā* meaning “father,” and *khām-lōyān* “to hear.”

I may mention that an excellent grammar and vocabulary of the Bhil language has been prepared by the Rev. C. S. Thompson.* The

* Ahmadabad, United Printing Press, 1895.

habitat of the Bhils is to the south of Mēwār, where the Central Provinces, Rajputānā, and Gujarāt meet. As already stated, their language is a dialect of Gujarātī, but, according to Mr. Thompson, there is, in the vocabulary, a substratum, of about six per cent. of words, which, while not corrupted from Gujarātī or Arabic and Persian, have no connexion with the Dravidian Languages of Southern India, or with Gōṇḍī, Santālī, or Kōl. The Siyālgiri seems to have preserved some of these words, which have been lost to Bhilī. It would be interesting, if possible, to trace the wanderings of this tribe from their original home.

The following is the Siyālgiri version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son:—

एक	मरदना	बय	दिक्रा	थेइ ।	तिन्ह	बिचे	नान्ह
<i>Ēk</i>	<i>maradnā</i>	<i>baya</i>	<i>dikrā</i>	<i>thēi.</i>	<i>Tinha</i>	<i>bicē</i>	<i>nānha</i>
A	man-to	two	sons	were.	Their-of	among	(by) younger
दिक्रा	आपनु	बाबाने	कहे ।	बाब !	मार	हिंच	
<i>dikrā</i>	<i>āpnu</i>	<i>bābānē</i>	<i>kahe,</i>	<i>‘bāb !</i>	<i>māra</i>	<i>hinkṣa</i>	
son	his-own	father-to	it-was-said,	‘O-father!	my	share	
मार	दे ।	इन्ह	बभइन्	हिंच	आलह	आलह	करि
<i>māra</i>	<i>dē.</i>	<i>Inha</i>	<i>babhain</i>	<i>hinkṣa</i>	<i>ālaha</i>	<i>ālaha</i>	<i>kari</i>
me-to	give.	By him	therenpon	share	separate	separate	having-done
दिध ।	थोड़ा	दन्	रहिन्		नान्ह	दिक्रा	
<i>didha.</i>	<i>Thōṛā</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>rahin</i>		<i>nānha</i>	<i>dikrā</i>	
was-given.	Few	days	remaining	(with his father)	younger	son	
आपनु	खब्	हिंच	लेइन्	एगलस्त	पारह	गिय ।	आचर् तिंथे
<i>āpnu</i>	<i>khāb</i>	<i>hinkṣa</i>	<i>lēin</i>	<i>ēglasta</i>	<i>pārha</i>	<i>giya.</i>	<i>Āur tithē</i>
his-own	all	share	taking	distant	country-to	went.	And there
घनु	खरचपत्र	करिन्	आपनु	खब्		उड़ाइ	
<i>ghanu</i>	<i>kharach-patra</i>	<i>karin</i>	<i>āpnu</i>	<i>khāb</i>		<i>urāi</i>	
much	expenditure	doing	his-own	all (whole property)	wasting		
दिधु ।	सो	खब्	खरचपत्र	किधि	तो		
<i>didhu.</i>	<i>Sō</i>	<i>khāb</i>	<i>kharach-patra</i>	<i>kidhi</i>	<i>tō</i>		
was-given	He	all	expenditure	doing	that		
(was thrown away).	(having ran through the whole property)						
देखेहे	बड़ि	आकास्	पड़ि गिय ।	हिध	बड़ि	दुखी	
<i>dekhēhē</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>ākāl</i>	<i>pari-giya.</i>	<i>Hiya</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>dukhī</i>	
country-in	great	famine	fell.	He	great	distressed	

थइ गिय । तिन्ह एलातो जाउ तोच् गासङ्गामि एक
thai-giya. Tinha ēlātō jāu tōc gāmsāmi ek
 became. He then going that village-inhabiting one

मानखान् डेल झालि रिह । तिन्ह आप्नु बिले
mān-khān hēla jhāli riha. Tinha āpnu bilē
 man-of-rank shelter taking remained. By him his-own field-in

घुसरि चरान मुकलि दिध । घुसरि जो चत्रिया खाइन्
ghusri carāna mukli didha Ghusri jō chatriya khāin
 swine to-feed sending was-given. Swine what husks were-eating

तो देइन् आप्ना पेट भरान् खोजे तिन्ह
tō dēin āpnā pēt bharañ khōjē. Tinhē
 those giving his-own belly to-fill it-was-sought. Him-to

किन्ह दिधु कोनि । पाहु खाक्काडन् तिन्ह
kinha didhu kōni. Pāchu khāk-kāḍñ tinha
 by-any-one was-given not. Afterwards being-awakened by-him

कङ् । मार बाबान् केड्ला भाना दर्मो-पाडन् चाकेर्
kahū, 'māra bābān kēḍlā jhānā darmō-pāḍñ cākēr
 it-was-said, 'my father-of how-many men wage-getting Servant

दरकार घनु छेय खादु पावे । आ मु ह्याखे भूखे
darkār ghanu chēya khādu pāvē, ā mu hyākhe bhūkhe
 need more than food get, And I here of-hunger

मर । मु हाँत उठिन् मार आगाकेने परहँ जाँउ ।
maru. Mu hāta uṭhin māra āgākēnē parhā jāu.
 am-dying. I from-here rising my father-of in-vicinity will-go.

तिन्ह कहिस् बाब ! मु गोखाँद बदिथेइ तुँऊ आगल्
Tinha kahis, "bāb ! mu gōkhāḍ badithēi tūhu āgal
 To-him will-say, "father! by-me God against thy before

पाप किधु । मु आउ तार् दिक्का बुलि ओलखि
pāp kidhu. Mu āu tār dikkā buli olakhi
 sin has-been-done. I again thy son being-called described

पारिस् कोनि । मिन्ह तु एक दर्मो-पाडन् चाकेर् करि
pāris kōni. Minhē tu ek darmō-pāḍñ cākēr kari
 will-be-able not. Me-to thou a wage-getting servant making

राख । पाहु तिन्ह उठिन् आप्नु आगाकेने गिय ।
rākḥ. 'Pāchu tinha uṭhin āpnu āgākēnē giya.
 keep. 'Afterwards he having-risen his-own father-to went.

तिन्ह यग्लसे रहे वेक्रा आगा जोवान पावे ।
Tinha ēglasē rahē tēkrā āgā jōwān pāwē.
 Him at-distance remaining by-his father to-see it-was-got.

इन्ह दयाबहि लासिन् जाइन् । उण्डेलमे
Inha dayābahi lāsīn jāin, unḍēl-mē
 By-him being-kind (affectionate) running going, by-the-neck

लेइन् । बुच्डा दिधा । दिक्रा तिनहे कऊँ,
lēin, bucrā diḍhā. Dikrā tinhe kahū,
 taking, kisses were-given. By-the-son him to it-was-said,

बाब ! आउ गोखौँद बदिथेइ तेरा आगल् पाप् किधु ।
'bāb! āu gōkhāi badiṭhēi tērā āgal pāp kiḍhu.
 'O-father! by-me God against thy before sin has-been-done.

मु आउर् तार् दिक्रा बुलि ओलखि पारिस् कोनि ।
mu āur tār dikrā buli ōlakhi pāris kōni.
 I again thy son being-called described will-be-able not.'

बाब आप्ना चाकिर्ने कऊँ, हेल् खौ लुक्डा
Bāb āpnā cākīrnē kahū, 'hēlu khāu lukṛā
 By-the-father his-own servant-to it-was-said, 'soon good cloth

लि आइन् इन्हे पराइहा दे । इन्हा हाते ईंटी
li āin inhē parāihā dē. Inhā hāte īṅṭī
 taking bringing him-to put-on give. His hand-to ring

आउर् गोड़े खाम्ड़ा दे । हेमे इन्हे लेइन् खादु-खाइन्
āur gōṛē khāmṛā dē. Hēme inhē lēin khādu-khāin
 and feet-to shoes give. (Let)-us him-to taking dinner-eating

खुसी रहिन् जेसौं मार दिक्रा मरि गिय जीवत् थाइन्
khusī rahin. Jēsō mārā dikrā mari-giya, jībat thāin;
 merry remain. For my son dead-went (was), alive is;

हाजि गियत पाओत लायहा । तार् बाद खुसी थायन्
hājī giyata pāota lāyaha. Tār bād khusī thāyan
 lost-went (was) found has-been. After-this in-happiness to-remain

लागा ।

lāgā.

began.

तिन्ह मोटो दिक्रा बिल्मो हुत । तो आउन् घिरे
Tinha mōṭo dikra bilmō huta. Tō āun ghirē
 His elder son field-in was. By-him coming house-to

लाचु बाजनु खास-लोयान पाउँ । तव तिनह एक चाकिरने
lācu bājnu khām-lōyān pāū. Tab tinha ek cākērne
 dancing music to-hear was-got. Then by-him a servant-to

कानहे बोलाइन पुकु, आ खब खु । सो
kānhē bōlāyin puchu, 'ā khab khū,' Sō
 near calling it-was-asked, 'this all what (is),' By him

इनहे कऊ, तार भाइय आव तार आगा
inhē kahū, 'tār bhāiya āwa tār āgā
 him-to it-was-said, 'thy brother having-come (by)-thy father

खाउ खादु तैयार किधु, किन्से तिनह तिनहे
khāu khādu taiyār kidhu, kinsē tinha tinhē
 dinner preparation has-been-done, because by him him-to
 has been prepared

खुथिउ-खाउ जोवान पाउँ । तिनह रिग किध ।
khūthiu-khāu jōwān pāū. Tinha rig kidhu.
 in-healthy-state to-see it-has-been got. By him anger was-done.

घरमिको जाइ कोनि । पाहु तिनह आगा बाहार
Gharmikō jāi kōni. Pāchu tinha āgā bāhār
 House-to went not. Afterwards (by) his father out-side

आउनु । बुझाइन किधु । सो जवाब करके आपना
āun bujhāin kidhu. Sō jawāb karkē āpnā
 coming consoling (him) was-done. He answer making his-own

आगाने कहे, एतना बरख-से तारि सेवा कर ।
āgānē kahē, 'etnā barakh-sē tārī sēbā karu.
 father-to says, 'so many years-from thy service has-been-done.

तारि आव केदे परहिकोला कोनि । तो तु मन्हे
tārī āv kēde parhikōlā kōni. Tō tu manhē
 thy word at-any-time been-disobeyed not. Still thou me-to

केदे एक बकरिनु चेलिउको देइनि, जो मार
kēde ek bakrinu cēliukō dēi-ni, jō mār
 at any time a goat-of kid-to 'give-not, so that my

बंधुने लेइन हँखे । तार एहि दिकरा
bādhunē lēin hēkhē. Tār ehi dīkrā
 friends-to taking (we)-may-make-merry. Thy this son

जो कहबिन् खावे रहिन् तार् खाब्ज खादु । हिय
jō kahabin khātē rahin tār khābja khādu, hiya
 by-whom harlots with remaining thy property eaten-up, he

जब आव तु इनिगुड़िये खादुखाड तैयार् किधु ।
jab āwa tu ini-guriyē khādu-khāu taiyār kidhu.
 when came by-thee for-him dinner prepared was-made.'

सो तिन्हे कऊँ, दिक्का तु मार बरोब्बर रह ।
Sō tinhē kahū, 'dikrā tu mār barobbar raha.
 By him him-to it-was-said, 'O-son thou my always art.

मार जटलु या सो खब तार । खुसी
Māru jēṭlu thā sō khab tāru. Khusī
 My all-that is it all (is) thine. (Being) merry (for his return)

जाइन् रिह । तार् एयब् भाइय मरि गियत जीवत् थाइन्
jāin riha. Tār ēyab bhāiya mari giyata, jibat thāin
 right is. Thy this brother dead went (was), alive being

आव, हाजि गियत पाँव
āwa; hāji giyata, pāwa.
 has-come; lost went (was), has-been-found.'

On Primary Suffixes in Kāçmīrī.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E.,
PH.D., I.C.S.

[Read August, 1898.]

These are treated in the *Kṛdanta-prakriyā* of Īçvara-kaula's *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. They form nouns (including adjectives and participles) by direct accretion to verbal roots. Many of them would be properly classed as verbal forms.

1. **आन् ān.** This is used to make present participles. It does not change for gender or number, and is added direct to the root (ix. i. 2).¹ Thus,—

ROOT.	PRESENT PARTICIPLE.
कर <i>kar</i> , do.	करान् <i>karān</i> , doing.
बोझ <i>bōz</i> , hear.	बोझान् <i>bōzān</i> , hearing.
If the root ends in a vowel, the letter व <i>w</i> is inserted (3). Thus,—	
दि <i>di</i> , give.	दिवान् <i>dīwān</i> , giving.
खि <i>khi</i> , eat.	खिवान् <i>khyawān</i> , eating.
चि <i>ci</i> , drink.	चिवान् <i>cyawān</i> , drinking.

Note that all verbs ending in इ *i* change इ *i* to य *ya*, except नि *ni*, take, दि *di*, give, यि *yi*, come.

This form is frequently used adverbially (4). Thus परान् परान् करन् *parān, parān, karun*, coming, coming, he made it.

This form corresponds to the Sanskrit present participle.

2. **इथ् *ith*.** Used to form a past participle absolute or conjunctive participle, corresponding to the Sanskrit conjunctive participle in ता *tvā*, or य *ya* (त्य *tya*). Thus,—

कर <i>kar</i> , do.	करिथ् <i>karith</i> , having made.
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¹ References, here, and elsewhere, to Īçvara-kaula's *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*.
J. I. 25

A preceding long आ *ā* (not short अ *a*) is modified. Thus,—

दार *dār*, place.

दारिष् *dārīth*.

ओ *ō* and ए *ē* become ऊ *ū* and ई *ī* respectively before this prefix (14,15).

Thus,—

बोज्ज *bōz*, hear.

बुज्जिष् *būzīth*, having heard.

मेन् *mēn*, measure.

मीनिष् *mīnīth*, having measured.

If a root ends in इ *i*, the final इ *i*, together with the suffix become

य् *yāth* (ix. i. 7, 8). Thus,—

हि *hi*, take.

ह्यिष् *hyāth*, having taken.

खि *khi*, eat.

ख्यिष् *khyāth*, having eaten.

Exceptions are—

नि *ni*, take.

निष् *nīth*, having taken.

दि *di*, give.

दिष् *dīth*, having given.

दि *yi*, come.

दिष् *yīth*, having come.

When the root वुड् *wuḍ*, fly, signifies *mōkṣa*, final release, it becomes वुज्जिष् *wujīth*, having obtained final release; but वुड्दिष् *wuḍīth*, having flown (ix. i. 9).

The root म॒ष्राव *maṣṣarāv*, cause to forget, usually forms म॒ष्राविष् *maṣṣarāvīth*, regularly, but in the phrase 'to cause to forget death,' it becomes मा॒षविष् *māṣavīth*. Thus,—

मरन् मा॒षविष् *marun māṣavīth*, having caused (so and so) to forget death (ix. i. 10).

The suffix क्यिष् *kyāth*, may be added to this form. Thus, करिष् क्यिष् *karīth kyāth*, having done (ix. i. 6).

3. इ *i* (ix. i. 11-15). This is used instead of इष् *īth*, when the word is repeated to represent frequentative action. In this case both a preceding अ *a* and a preceding आ *a* are modified. Thus,—

कर *kar*, do.

क॒रि क॒रि *karī karī*, having made over and over again.

मार *mār*, beat.

मा॒रि मा॒रि *mārī mārī*, having beaten repeatedly.

कार *kār*, boil.

का॒रि का॒रि *kārī kārī*, having boiled repeatedly.

As in the case of इथ *ith*, preceding ए *ē* and ओ *ō* become ई *ī* and ऊ *ū* respectively. Thus,—

चेट *tsēt*, pound.

चैटि चैटि *tsētⁱ tsētⁱ*, having pound-
ed continually.

बोज *bōz*, hear.

बूजि बूजि *būzⁱ būzⁱ*, having heard
continually.

So also we have—

ब्यह *bēh*, sit.

बिहि बिहि *bihⁱ bihⁱ*, having sat
continually.

When a root ends in इ *i*, the final vowel together with the suffix become य *ya* (*ē*); or the form in थ *th* may be used (12). Thus,—

खि *khi*, eat.

ख ख *khē khē* or खय् खय् *khyāth*
khyāth, having eaten fre-
quently.

चि *ci*, drink.

च च *cē cē* or चय् चय् *cyāth cyāth*,
having drunk frequently.

Exceptions are, as usual,—

नि *ni*, take.

नि नि *nī nī* or निथ् निथ् *nith nith*,
having taken frequently.

दि *di*, give.

दि दि *dī dī* or दिथ् दिथ् *dith dith*,
having given frequently.

यि *yi*, come.

यि यि *yī yī* or यिथ् यिथ् *yith yith*,
having come frequently.

4. वुनु *wun^u* (fem. वञ् *wañ*; plur. masc. वनि *wañⁱ*, fem. वञ् *wañē*)
used to form nouns of agency (ix. i. 25-27). Thus,—

कर *kar*, make.

करवुनु *karawun^u*, a maker.

If a root ends in इ *i*, अव *aw* is inserted and the इ *i* changed to य *y*. Thus,—

खि *khi*, eat.

खववुनु *khyarawun^u*.

चि *ci*, drink.

चववुनु *cyarawun^u*.

Exceptions are,—

नि *ni*, take.

निववुनु *nirawun^u*.

दि *di*, give.

दिववुनु *dirawun^u*.

यि *yi*, come.

यिववुनु *yirawun^u*.

5. वोल् *wōl*^u, (fem. वाच्ज् *wājēñ*; plur. masc. वालि *wāl*ⁱ, fem. वाच्ज् *wājēñē*) is also used to form nouns of agency. For examples, see below (ix. i. 28-31).

6. ग्राख् *grākh* (fem. ग्राक्ज् *grākṣ*^ñ, vide ante, p. 34). Also used to form nouns of agency (ix. i. 28-31).

These two last suffixes are really secondary ones, (see Sec. Suff. No. 9, 10). They are added to abstract verbal nouns, especially to that in उन् *un* (No. 16), the उन् *un* being changed to अन् *an*. Thus,—

कर *kar*, make. करन् *karun*, making. करन्वोल् *karawōl*^u, or
करन्ग्राख् *karangrākh*, a
maker.

पर *par*, read. परन् *parun*, reading. परन्वोल् *parawōl*^u, or
परन्ग्राख् *parangrākh*.

If the abstract noun is feminine (see No. 31m) and ends in न् *n*, that न् *n* is changed to ज् *ñ*^u or ज् *ñ*.

ज्ञान *zān*, (31m) know. ज्ञान् ज्ञाज्जोल् (ज्ञाज्जोल्) *zāññwōl*^u
zān (fem.) or ज्ञानुन् *zānun* *zāññwōl*^u or ज्ञानन्वोल् *zānanwōl*^u,
(masc.) knowledge. or ज्ञाज्ग्राख् *zāññgrākh*, (ज्ञाज्ग्राख्
zāññgrākh), or ज्ञानन्ग्राख् *zānan-*
grākh, a knower.

These two suffixes can only be used with feminine abstract nouns when the verb expresses a condition of the body or mind. Thus ज्ञान *zān*, know, expresses a condition of the mind, and therefore we can say ज्ञाज्जोल् *zāññwōl*^u. But the verb गज्ज् *graz*, roar, which also has a feminine abstract noun (see No. 31g.) गज्ज् *graz*, cannot form गज्जोल् *grazwōl*^u, because the verb does not express a condition of the mind or body. We can only use the masculine abstract noun, thus, गज्जन्वोल् *grazanwōl*^u.

If a root ends in इ *i*, the इ *i* becomes य् *y* before अन् *an*, and अन् *an* becomes अन् *ana*. Thus,—

खि *khi*, eat.

चि *ci*, drink.

खानवोल् *khyanawōl*^u,
खानग्राख् *khyanagrākh*, } an eater.
चानवोल् *cyanawōl*^u, a drinker.

Exceptions are,—

नि *ni*, take.

निनबोलु *ninawōl*^२, or निनग्रालु *nina-grākh*, a taker.

दि *di*, give.

दिनबोलु *dinawōl*^२, &c., a giver.

यि *yi*, come.

यिनबोलु *yinawōl*^२, &c., a comer.

7. नल् *nal*.

8. लल् *lal*.

9. अल् *al*, ल् *l*.

These three are used as follows with the roots दि *di* and दाव *dāv* in special senses, all obscene. Thus,—

दिनल् *dinal*, an unchaste woman.

माज्यदिनल् *mājēdinal*, “*mātrgāmī*,” ब्यजदिनल् *bēñēdinal*, “*svasrgāmī*,”
कोरिदिनल् *kōridinal*, “*kanyāgāmī*.”

माज्यदिलल् *mājēdilal*, “*mātrgāmī*.”

दावल् *dāwal*, an unchaste woman.

माज्यदावल् *mājēdāwal*, “*mātrgāmī*,” ब्यजदावल् *bēñēdāwal*, “*svasrgāmī*,”
कोरिदावल् *kōridāwal*, &c.

माज्यदिल् *mājēdil*, “*mātrgāmī*,” &c. (ix. i. 32–35).

10. ल्^२ (fem. ल्^२; plur. masc. इ^२, fem. य^२). This is the termination of past participles. This form is now, however, always used as a past tense, and the true participle is described later on (No. 12) (ix. i. 36–39). Examples are,—

कर *kar*, make.

कर्^१ *kar*^२, (it was) made.

पर *par*, read.

पर^१ *par*^२, (it was) read.

खन *khan*, dig.

खन्^१ *khan*^२, (it was) dug.

This suffix is added to all transitive and impersonal verbs (*i. e.*, verbs of the first conjugation), and, as a verbal form, is used when the logical subject (in the case of the agent) is in the first or third person.

It cannot be used when it is in the second person. Thus, कर्^१ *kar*^२ may mean, ‘it was done by me,’ or ‘it was done by him,’ but cannot mean ‘it was done by you.’ So खन्^१ *as*^२, it-was-laughed by me or by him.

In the case of Intransitive Verbs, it follows the conjugation of these verbs, and is only used in the case of those verbs which are known as "Listed Verbs" (*vide* A List of Kāçmīrī Verbs, *ante*, Vol. LXV, Part I, page 306). These I shall in future call verbs of the second conjugation. It is then used only in the 3rd person. Thus,—

ॐल *tsal*, flee.

ॐल *tsal^u*, he fled.

Non-listed Intransitive Verbs, which I shall in future call verbs of the third conjugation, do not use this form in ॐ^u, but take the Aorist form in औव् *auv*, or ओव् *ōv*, used in their case for the Past third person sing. Thus,—

वठ *vyath*, be fat.

वथौव् *vyathya^{uv}*, (not वठ् *vyath^u*),
he was fat.

The final व् *v* is dropped before suffixes, and we thus get वथौव् *vyathya^u-s*, I was fat.

The following verbs are irregular (ix. i. 37, 38),—

चि *ci*, drink, makes

चौव् *cyauv* (it was) drunk.

खि *khi*, eat,

खौव् *khyauv* (it was) eaten.

नि *ni*, take,

नूव् *nyūv* (it was) taken.

Besides this there are other irregular forms, such as द्युत् *dyut^u*, from √ *di*, 'give'; which will be subsequently described under the head of verbs.

This suffix, ॐ^u, is frequently met in other nouns, which are not verbal forms, *e.g.*, वठ् *vyath^u*, fat.

11. औव् *auv*, or ओव् *ōv* (fem. एय् *ēy^a*; plur. masc. एय् *ēy*, fem. एय् *ēy^a*).

This is the termination of the Aorist Participle of verbs of the first and second conjugations, and of the Past Participle of verbs of the third conjugation. As regards its use, see No. 10. The final व् *v* and य् *y* are omitted before suffixes. The form is an old past participle, and can be used with all verbs.

12. मत् *mat^u* (fem. मच्चू *mats^u*; plur. masc. मत्ति *matⁱ*, fem. मच्चू *mats^a*). This is used to form the true Past Participle. It is compounded with No. 11, in the case of verbs of the first and second conjugations

and with No. 12 in the case of verbs of the third conjugation, and both members of the compound change for gender, number and case.

The word is also written and pronounced $\text{सुतु } mut^a$, (fem. $\text{सच् } mats^a$; plur. masc. $\text{सति } mat^i$, fem. $\text{सच् } mats^a$) (ix. i. 40).

Examples of the use of this participle are,—

A. FIRST CONJUGATION. (Form 10).

$\text{करसुतु } kar^amats^a$, or $\text{करसुतु } kar^amut^a$, made.

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	$\text{करसुतु } kar^amats^a$.	$\text{करसच् } kar^amats^a$.
Acc.	$\text{करिमतिस् } kar^imatis$.	$\text{कर्यमच् } kar^emats^e$.
Ag.	$\text{करिमति } kar^imati$.	$\text{करिमत्ति } kar^imats^i$.

PLURAL.

	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	$\text{करिमति } kar^imati$.	$\text{कर्यमत्तु } kar^emats^a$.
Acc.	$\text{करिमत्यन् } kar^imatyān$.	$\text{कर्यमत्तन् } kar^emats^an$.
Ag.	$\text{करिमत्यौ } kar^imatyau$.	$\text{कर्यमत्तौ } kar^emats^au$.

NOTE,—1. The irregular declension of the first half of the compound.

2. The feminine termination of the singular, $\text{सच् } mats^e$. We should (according to iv. 51) expect $\text{सत्तु } mats^a$, but my paṇḍit assures me that $\text{सच् } mats^e$ is the correct form. Compare p. 59, ante.

The above declension is as given by my paṇḍit, and is not given by I-k.

B. SECOND CONJUGATION. (Form 10).

$\text{तलुसुतु } tsal^amats^a$, or $\text{तलुसुतु } tsal^amut^a$, fled.

Sing.	Masc.	$\text{तलुसुतु } tsal^amats^a$.
	Fem.	$\text{तलुसच् } tsaj^amats^a$ (vide ante, pp. 32, 33).
Plur.	Masc.	$\text{तलुसति } tsal^imati$.
	Fem.	$\text{तलुसत्तु } tsaj^emats^a$.

C. THIRD CONJUGATION. (Form 11).

SINGULAR.

	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	व्यथोमन्तु व्यथ्येमन्तु ^० .	व्यथेमन्तु व्यथ्येमन्तु ^० .
Acc.	व्यथेमन्ति व्यथ्येमन्ति.	व्यथेमन्ति व्यथ्येमन्ति ^० .
Ag.	व्यथेमन्ति व्यथ्येमन्ति ^० .	व्यथेमन्ति व्यथ्येमन्ति ^० .

PLURAL.

	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	व्यथेमन्ति व्यथ्येमन्ति ^० .	व्यथेमन्ति व्यथ्येमन्ति ^० .
Acc.	व्यथेमन्त्यन् व्यथ्येमन्त्यन्.	व्यथेमन्त्यन् व्यथ्येमन्त्यन्.
Ag.	व्यथेमन्त्यौ व्यथ्येमन्त्यौ.	व्यथेमन्त्यौ व्यथ्येमन्त्यौ.

The following forms are irregular :—

FROM	PAST PARTICIPLE.
यि <i>yi</i> , come.	आमन्तु <i>āmat</i> ^० .
अत्त <i>ats</i> , enter.	आमन्तु <i>tsāmat</i> ^० .
नेर <i>nēr</i> , issue.	द्रामन्तु <i>drāmat</i> ^० .
प्रस <i>pras</i> , give birth.	प्यामन्तु <i>pyāmat</i> ^० .
जि <i>zi</i> , be born.	जामन्तु <i>zāmat</i> ^० .
मर <i>mar</i> , die.	मूमन्तु <i>mūmat</i> ^० , or मृदुमन्तु <i>mūd^०mat</i> ^० .

Of all these, except मृदुमन्तु *mūd^०mat*^०, the first number of the compound does not change for number or case. Thus,—

Sing.	Masc.	आमन्तु <i>āmat</i> ^० .
	Fem.	आमन्तु <i>āmat</i> ^० .
Plur.	Masc.	आमन्ति <i>āmat</i> ^० .
	Fem.	आमन्ति <i>āmat</i> ^० .

The forms for मृदुसत् *mūd^umat^a* are.

Sing. Masc. मृदुसत् *mūd^umat^a*.

Fem. मृसच्च *mūmat^s*.

Plur. Masc. मृदिसन्ति *mūdⁱmatⁱ*.

Fem. मृसन्न *mūmat^s*.

In other words मृदुसत् *mūd^umat^a* is only used in the Masculine.

13. सुत् *mut^a*, see No. 12 सत् *mat^a*.

14. अणय् *anay*. This gives the force of the past conjunctive participle, negated (ix. i. 51).

कर *kar*, make.

करणय् *karanay*, not having made.

गर *gar*, make.

गरणय् *garanay*, not having made.

पर *par*, read.

परणय् *paranay*, not having read.

पोढ *pōth*, be fat.

पोढणय् *pōthanay*, not having become fat.

हि *hi*, buy.

हणय् *hēnay*, not having bought.

Irregular are,—

नि *ni*, take.

निणय् *ninay*, not having taken.

दि *di*, give.

दिणय् *dinay*, not having given.

यि *yi*, come.

यिणय् *yinay*, not having come.

15. अनि *anī*. This is the first of a series of forms, connected with the Sanskrit participle in अनियः *anīyah*. It is used as an impersonal future passive participle, like the Latin *faciendum* (ix. i. 50). Thus,—

कर *kar*, make.

करनी *karanī*, it is to be made.

पक *pak*, go.

पकनी *pakanī*, it is to be gone.

वृथ *wōth*, rise.

वृथनी *wōthanī*, it is to be risen
(one must rise).

चि *ci*, drink.

चनी *cēnī*, it is to be drunk.

हि *hi*, buy.

हनी *hēnī*, it is to be bought.

Irregular, as usual are,—

नि *ni* take.

निनी *ninī*, it is to be taken.

दि *di*, give.

दिनी *dinī*, it is to be given.

यि *yi*, come.

यिनी *yinī*, it is to be come.

16. उन् *un*.17. अन् *an*^u.18. उन् *un*^u.

These three are used indifferently for one another (ix. ii. 2, 3). The first is of the first declension, and the second and third of the second. Their declension is as follows :—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom.	करन् <i>karun</i> .	करन् <i>karan</i> .
Acc.	करनस् <i>karanas</i> .	करनन् <i>karanan</i> .
Ag.	करनन् <i>karanan</i> .	करनौ <i>karanau</i> .
Obl. ¹	करन <i>karan</i> ^o	करनौ <i>karanaui</i> .
Nom.	करन् <i>karan</i> ^u or कश्चन् <i>karun</i> ^u .	करन् <i>karan</i> ^u .
Acc.	(not used).	(not used).
Ag.	करन् <i>karan</i> ^u .	(not used).
Obl. ¹	करनि <i>karani</i> .	(not used).

If the root ends in *i*, the first and third forms are not used (ix. i. 21, 24). We only have forms like,—

	NOM. MASC.	ACC. SING.
खि <i>khi</i> , eat.	ख्यन् <i>khyan</i> ^u .	ख्यनस् <i>khyanas</i> .
हि <i>hi</i> , buy.	ह्यन् <i>hyan</i> ^u .	ह्यनस् <i>hyanas</i> .
चि <i>ci</i> , drink.	च्यन् <i>cyan</i> ^u .	च्यनस् <i>cyanas</i> .

Exceptions, as usual, are,—

नि <i>ni</i> , take.	निन् or न्यन् <i>nyun</i> ^u .	निनस् <i>ninas</i> .
दि <i>di</i> , give.	दिन् or द्यन् <i>dyun</i> ^u .	दिनस् <i>dinas</i> .
यि <i>yi</i> , come.	यिन् or य्यन् <i>yyun</i> ^u .	यिनस् <i>yinas</i> .

This is used,—

(a) As an adjective.

(b) As an abstract verbal noun.

(a) As an adjective, it is equivalent to the Sanskrit participle in अनियः *anīyah*. Thus, करन् *karun* or करन् *karan*^u, means 'it is to be

¹ The oblique form is that form which the agent case assumes before post-positions.

made' (masc.). Its feminine is करञ् *karañ*. Examples of its use are,—

इह पाठ् कुह परन् (or परन्) *yih pāṭh* (masc.) *chuh parun* (or *paran*), this lesson is to be read.

इह पुयि अह परञ् *yih pūṭh*ⁱ (fem.) *chēh parañ* this book is to be read.

This adjective is used in a peculiar idiom with the verb गङ् *gaṭṣh*, go, be proper (Cf. French *ça ira*). The past of this verb, in this sense is गङ् *gaṭṣh*^u, not गौव् *gauv*. It is only used in the future and past tenses, not in the present. Examples of the idiom are (ix. i. 42).

अह गङ्ख मारन् (or मारन्) *tsəh gaṭṣhakh mārən*^u (or *mārun*^u) you deserve a beating, literally you will go with propriety to be beaten.

आ गङ्गि सुह मारन् *tsə gaṭṣhi suh mārən*^u, you ought to beat him, literally, he will go to be beaten by you.

आ गङ्गि स ज्ञान मारञ् *tsə gaṭṣhi s^a zanān^a mārāñ*, you should beat that woman, literally, that woman will go to be beaten (fem.) by you.

आ गङ्गु सुह न्यचिह मारन् *tsə gaṭṣh^u suh nēchyuv^u mārən*^u, you should have beaten that boy, lit., that boy went to be beaten by you.

आ गङ्गु स ज्ञान मारञ् *tsə gaṭṣh^u s^a zanān^a mārāñ*, you should have beaten that woman.

The same form is used with the verb लग *lag*, be proper, in much the same sense. This is only used in the Future and Past Conditional tenses (ix. i. 43). Thus,—

तत् लगि अ गङ्गन् *tat^u lagi tsə gaṭṣhan*^u, you should go there. Here the participle is impersonal, and the phrase is literally, the going there by you will be proper. If the object is feminine, the participle must be feminine. Thus,—

अ लगि मारञ् स ज्ञान *tsə lagi mārāñ s^a zanān^a*, you should beat that woman, literally, that woman will be proper to be beaten by you.

So, also in the Past Conditional तत् लगिह गङ्गन् *tat^u lagiḥ gaṭṣhun*^u one (I, you, &c.) should have gone there.

The root पज *paz*, be proper, is used in exactly the same way (ix. i. 44). Thus, अ पजिह सुह मारन् *tsə paziḥ suh mārən*^u you should have beaten him. Lit. He would have been proper to be beaten by you.

Instead of the agent case, the genitive can be used, in all these idioms (ix. i. 45). Thus we may say,—

चोनू गच्छि सुह् मारनू *cyōn^u* (instead of *tsē*) *gats^hi su^h māraⁿ^u*.

चाञ्ज गच्छि स ज्ञान मारञ्ज *cyāñⁱ* (fem.) *gats^hi s^a zānāⁿ^a mārañⁱ*.

So also in the plural,—

चाणि गच्छन् तिम मारणि *cyānⁱ* *gats^han tim māraⁿⁱ*, you should beat them.

चाञ्ज गच्छन् तिम मारञ्ज *cyāñⁱ* *gats^han tim^a mārañⁱ*, you should beat them (fem.).

Pronominal suffixes can also be added to the main verb (not to the participle) (ix. i. 46). The formation of these suffixes will be dealt with in the chapter on verbs.

गच्छुस् करन् *gats^hu-s karun^u*, it should have been done to him.

गच्छुय् करन् *gats^hu-y karan^u*, it should have been done for thee.

लग्यस् करन् *lagy-as karun^u*, it should be done for him.

पजास् करन् *pazy-am karun^u*, it should be done for me.

(b) As a substantive, the form is used as a masculine Abstract Verbal Noun, or Infinitive (ix. ii. 2, 3 and ff). Thus,—

कर *kar*, make.

करन् *karun^u*, करन् *karan^u*, or करन् *karun^u*, the act of making, to make.

The accusative singular is used with the post-position कितु or क्युत *kyut^u* (ix. i. 17) to form a dative. E.g., परनस् कितु *paranas kyut^u*, for reading. Thus,—

परनस् कितु प्रङ्ग *paranas kyut^u prang*, a couch for reading. कितु *kyut^u* is an adjective.

We thus have,—

परनस् कितु प्रङ्ग *paranas kyut^u prang*, a couch (masc. sg.) for reading.

परनस् किति गर *paranas kitⁱ gar^a*, houses (masc. pl.) for reading.

परनस् कित् चूकि *paranas kit^s^u cūkⁱ*, a chair (fem. sg.) for reading.

परनस् कित् चोक्क *paranas kit^s^a cōk^ē*, chairs for reading.

In all the above it will be seen that the essential meaning of the verb is active. A couch for reading means a couch for reading something,—e.g., a book,—and the verb is not changed whatever the gender of the object may be. Thus पूथि *pūthi*, a book, is feminine, but we still say

इह् पूथि (or इथ् पोथ्य) परनस् कित् प्रङ्ग *yih pūthi* (or *yith pōthē*)
paranas kyut^u pragg, a couch for reading this book.

We may also use the dative of other verbal nouns in the same way. Thus, जेटनस् कित् *teṭanas kyut^u* or (No. 30d.) जेटस् कित् *teṭas* (masc.) *kyut^u*, for grinding to powder; गजानस् कित् *grazanas kyut^u* or (No. 31g.) गजि कित् *grazi* (fem.) *kyut^u*, for roaring.

But if the verb is used passively then it agrees with the subject in gender, and the form is no longer substantival but adjectival. Thus, 'a book for reading' means 'a book for being read,' and we must say,—

परङ्ग किच् पूथि *paraṅg kits^u pūthi*.

On the other hand we say परनस् किच् चूकि *paranas kits^u cūki*, because the phrase means a chair for reading, and not a chair for being read.

Note that when the verb is used passively, it is in the form of the nominative feminine, not in the accusative, although preceding किच् *kits^u*.

We may also use the nominative masculine before कित् *kyut^u* (ix. i. 22, 23) when the verb is used passively. Thus परनु (or परन् or परन्) कित् घस्तुख् *parun^u* (or *parun* or *paraṅn^u*) *kyut^u pōstukh* (masc. sg.), a book for reading. We thus get the following adjectival forms when the verb is used passively,—

Masc. Sg. परन् कित् घस्तुख् *paraṅn^u kyut^u pōstukh*, a book for reading.

(We cannot say परन् कित् प्रङ्ग *paraṅn^u kyut^u pragg*, a couch for reading).

Masc. Pl. रन्नि किति हाख् *ranⁿⁱ kitⁱ hākh*, vegetables for cooking.

Fem. Sg. परङ्ग किच् पूथि *paraṅg kits^u pūthi*, a book for reading.

Fem. Pl. करञ् कित् काम्य *karañē kits^a kāmē*, businesses (fem. pl.) to be done.

These are all capable of declension. Thus,—(acc.) परनस् कितिस् *paranas kitis pōstakas chuh thawān*, he places a book for reading.

The oblique base of the form in अन् *an^u* is used to indicate a purpose (ix. i. 18). I note that in poetry the form ends in अने *anē*, not in अनि *ani*. Thus,—

परनि (or poetical परने) गहान् कुह् *parani* (or poetical *paranē*) *gatshān chuh*, he goes to read. रननि गौव् *ranani gauv*, he went to cook.

When the word समख *samakh*, meet, is used in this form, it means to pay a visit of condolence. Thus, समखनि गौव् *samakhani gauv*, he went to pay a visit of condolence. Otherwise the ordinary dative of the verbal noun in उन् *un* is used. Thus, समखन पुष् रुद् *samakhana putshy rūd^u*, he stopped to meet him (ix. i. 19).

This verbal form is used to form Inceptive and Desiderative compounds. Thus,—

Inceptive compounds, are made with the infinitive in अन् *an^u* or उन् *un^u*, and the verb हि *hi*, take (viii. i. 57). Thus, सुह् कुह् खय् लेखुन् *suh chuh khāth lēkhun^u hyawān*, he begins to write a letter; करन् ह्यवान् कुह् *karun hyawān chuh*, he begins to d. If the object is feminine, the feminine infinitive is used. Thus, सुह् कुह् जनान् मारज् *suh chuh zanān^a mārj^u hyawān*, he begins to beat the woman. These forms are however, almost always used in the past tense. Thus, करन् ह्यतुन् *karun hyatun*, he began to read, (and is doing it now). तस्मि कुह् खय् लेखुन् *tamⁱ chuh khāth lēkhun^u hyat^umat^u*, he has begun to write the letter. Literally, by him the letter to-be-written has been taken. So तस्मि ह्यज् जनान् मारज् *tamⁱ chhēh zanān^a mārj^u hēts^umat^u*, he has begun to beat the woman (ix. i. 41).

Another way of forming inceptive compounds is to use the oblique form of the infinitive with the verb लग *lag* already mentioned. Thus,—

सुह् करनि लग् *suh karani lag^u*, he began to do.

सुह् ल॒गु ख॒य् लेख॑नि *suh lag^u khāth lēkhani*, he began to write the letter.

सुह् ल॒गु ज॒नान॑ मार॑नि *suh lag^u zanān^a māraṇi*, he began to beat the woman. It will be observed that this form of the verbal noun does not change for gender.

Similarly, **Desiderative compounds** are made with the verb द॒क् *yitsh*, wish. Thus,—

सुह् कु॒ह् ख॒य् लेखु॑न् द॒क्कान् *suh chuh khāth lēkhun^u yitshān*, he wishes to write the letter.

सुह् कु॒ह् ज॒नान॑ मार॑ञ् द॒क्कान् *suh chuh zanān^a māraṇ yitshān*, he wishes to beat the woman.

त॑मि द॒क्क ज॒नान॑ मार॑ञ् *tamⁱ yitsh^u zanān^a māraṇ*, he wished to beat the woman.

In the formation of this abstract noun the following **irregularities** appear (ix. ii. 4). Only one form of the infinitive is given, but the others follow the same rule,—

तल॑ *tal*, fry.

तलुन् *talun* or तल्युन् *talyun*.

बज॑ *baz*, fry, serve.

बजुन् *bazun* or बज्युन् *bazyun*.

Some verbs only use their Abstract Noun in the Feminine, and, moreover, are then sometimes irregular in their formation (ix. ii. 24 and ff.). They are the following:—

ABSTRACT NOUNS.

त्सर॑ *tsar*, be inwardly wrathful त्सरिञ् *tsariñ*, inward wrath. (impersonally).

त्सुव॑ *tsuv*, quarrel (impersonally). त्सुविञ् *tsuviñ*.

[These two, when used with other verbs, take the *regular* feminines in phrases like,—

अमि॑स् छ॒त्रुन् त्सर॑ञ् *amis hēts^un tsaraṇ*, he began to be angry. Literally, being angry began to him].

मोर॑व *mōrav*, bear (of pain, impersonally). मोरवुञ् *mōrav^uñ*.

मर्त्त॑ *martṣ*, be impatient (used impersonally). मर्त्तुञ् *martṣ^uñ*.

19. अञ् *añ*.20. इञ् *iñ*.21. ऊञ् *ūñ*.

These are all Feminine forms of the masculine verbal adjectives, and of the masculine abstract nouns or infinitives, in उञ् *un*, अञ् *añ*, or उञ् *un* (Nos. 16–18). No. 19 is the regular feminine of all three, and is discussed under the head of those suffixes.

It is also specially used to form a feminine abstract noun in the case of the following verb.

चेन *tsēn*, know by a sign, चेनवञ् *tsēnavañ* the giving of a sign (ix. ii. 43).

In the case of the following verbs it is only used in the fem. pl. (अञ् *añ*) (ix. ii. 42),—

कड *kaḍ*, bring out.कडञ् *kadañ*, blaming.पास् *pās*, blame.पास्त्रञ् *pās^arañ*, blaming.शुक *çruk*, weep.शुकञ् *çrukañ*, weeping.

A few verbs (mostly connected with female ideas, and mostly used impersonally) have no masculine forms, and are also discussed under the head of Nos. 16–18.

They have only feminine abstract nouns or infinitives in इञ् *iñ*, or ऊञ् *ūñ*. For easy reference, I repeat them here.

The two following form their abstract or infinitives in इञ् *iñ*, and in no other way (ix. ii. 24). That is to say they have no infinitive in उञ् *un*.

त्र *tsar*, be inwardly wrathful, whether referring to a man or a woman, always used impersonally, and always in the feminine. Thus, तस् त्र *tas tsar* (fem.), of him or her inward wrath was felt, *i.e.*, he or she was inwardly angry. Abstract noun or infinitive त्रिञ् *tsariñ*, not त्रञ् *tsarun* or त्रञ् *tsarañ*, inward wrath. त्रञ् *tsarun*, does occur, but it is the abstract noun or infinitive of another verb, त्र *tsar*, increase.

Other examples of the use of this curious verb is तस् त्रान् च्छ *tas tsarān chh* (fem.) he or she is inwardly angry. तस् त्रि *tas tsari*, he or she will be angry.

चुव *tsuv*, (ix. ii. 24) quarrel, also used impersonally, and in the feminine. Abstract noun or infinitive चुविञ् *tsuviñ*, quarrelling.

Examples of use,—

Present tense, सुह् कुह् चुवान् *suh chuh tsuvān*, he is quarrelling.

Future tense, सुह् चुवि *suh tsuvi*, he will quarrel.

Past tense, only used in the feminine,—

तमि चुव् *tamⁱ tsuv^ũ*, by him quarrelling was done.

तमि चुव् *tami tsuv^ũ*, by her quarrelling was done.

Note, that in the Past, it is always used impersonally, and in the feminine gender though it may refer to males.

We thus see that चर *tsar* is always construed with the genitive (तस् *tas*), but चुव *tsuv*, in the Present and Future as an ordinary Intransitive Verb, and in the Past as an Impersonal Verb.

The two following verbs, form their abstract nouns or infinitives in क्च् *ũñ*, and in no other way.

मोरव *mōrav*, (viii. iii. 25) bear pain, used impersonally and in the feminine in the past tenses only. Abstract noun or infinitive मोरवञ् *mōravũñ*.

Examples of the use of this verb,—

Present tense, सुह् कुह् मोरवान् *suh chuh mōravān*, he is bearing pain.

Future tense, सुह् मोरवि *suh mōravi*, he will bear pain.

Past tense, तमि मोरव् *tamⁱ mōrav^ũ* (fem. impersonal) (pain) was borne by him, he bore pain.

मर्त्ति *marts* (ix. ii. 25), be impatient. Abstract noun, or infinitive, मर्त्तिञ् *martsũñ*.

Examples of use,—

Present tense, तस् अह् मर्त्तिन् *tas chhēh* (fem.) *martsān*, of that man, or of that woman, there is impatience.

Future tense, तस् मर्त्ति *tas martsⁱ*, of that man, or of that woman, there will be impatience.

Past tense, तस् मर्त्त् *tas marts^ũ*, of that man, or of that woman, there was impatience.

It is thus construed exactly like चर *tsar*.

The following verbs optionally form feminine abstract nouns or infinitives in **ख्** *kh^as*, in addition to the ordinary masculine one in **उन्** *un* (ix. ii. 26).

खस् *kh^as*, pluck the hair. In the case of this verb, **खसुन्** *kh^asun* (masc.) is used when men are referred to, and **खसुन्** *kh^as^un* (fem.) when women are referred to (*sensu obscæno*).

फिन्न *phits*, forget; **फर** *phōg*, be inwardly angry; **फुह** *phuh*, be inwardly angry. In the last two the fem. abstract noun is used of the wrath of females.

वज्जव *wazav*, moisten; **वुज्ज** *wuts*, be burnt.

The following verbs optionally form the feminine abstract noun in **इन्** *iñ*, in addition to the ordinary masculine one in **उन्** *un* (ix. ii. 27-32).

सार *sār*, feel (see No. 26); **खुत** *khut*, dig from below; **टुव** *tuv*, close (of a flower); **डुव** *duv*, sweep; **डल** *dal*, pass over; **त्रुक** *truk* (see No. 30a), bite in pieces; **थक** *thēk*, praise; **नत्त** *nats*, dance; **नट** *naṭ*, tremble; **नम** *nam*, bend; **वुज्ज** *wuz*, appear (as water from a spring); **वुट** *wuṭh*, twist; **वुप** *wup*, burn inside; **लिव** *liv*, smear (makes **लिविन्** *liviñ*, or **लिपिन्** *lipiñ*); **ल्यव** *lyav*, lick; **कर** *kar*, do (**करिन्** *kariñ*, however, only means a mason's trowel); **वट** *waṭ*, twist (**वटिन्** *waṭiñ* means a collection); **फर** *phar*, steal (**फरिन्** *phariñ* means a female thief). Thus, **सारिन्** *sāriñ*, feeling.

If the secondary suffix **अल्** *al* (sec. suf. No. 6) is ever used with any abstract verbal noun, it cannot be used with the masculine form, but only with the feminine form in **इन्** *iñ* (ix. ii. 27). This **अल्** *al* is only used with a few verbs. Thus, **थकिञ्जल्** *thēkiñal*, a praiser; **नटिञ्जल्** *naṭiñal*, a trembler, and so on.

22. **अन्** *an*, (masculine). Used to form masculine abstract nouns in the case of three verbs (ix. ii. 41). Thus,—

चि *ci*, drink.

अन् *cyan* (masc.) drinking.

खि *khi*, eat.

अन् *khyan* (masc.) drinking.

हि *hi*, place.

अन् *hyan* (masc.) placing.

20. **अन्** *an* (fem.). Used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 35, 37) **कपट** *kapat*, cut; **दन** *dan*,

shake out dust; नद्वाव *nahāv*, obliterate; पिल *pil*, arrive; फिर *phir*, turn over (pages); माज *māz*, be intent upon; मिलव *mīlav*, unite; मुत्तर *mutsar*, open; मूर *mūr*, shell (pease, &c.); लव *lyav*, lick; वुठ *wuṭh*, twist; वुह *wuh*, be not extinguished; ञ्दर *ḍār*, mix; खंद् *khāṇḍ*, divide; छुट्टर *tshōṭar*, make small; जौट्टर *zōṭhar*, make long; टौट्टर *tōṭar*, have insufficient means of livelihood; पीट्टर *pīṭhar*, blame and instruct; फुट्टर *phuṭar*, break; बद्दर *baḍar*, make great; बाग़र *bāgar*, divide; म्वट्टर *mōṭar* make thick; वोव्वर *wōvvar*, shave metal.

Thus, कपटन् *kapatan* (fem.) cutting.

The verb गिलव *gilav*, whirl about, forms गिलन् *gilan*, which means 'an attempt' (ix. ii. 36).

The verb नव *nav*, be new, forms नव्वरन् *nōvvaran*, raking up an old story against a person (ix. ii. 38).

The verb लार *lār*, touch, forms लारन् *lāran*, which means 'trembling' (ix. ii. 40).

Some people use this form with the roots तन्वर *tanvar*, dilute; तत्तर *tatar*, make hot; स्यज़र *syazar*, make straight (ix. ii. 39).

24. रब् *rab*. This is optionally used in the case of the root सव *maṣ*, to form a masculine verbal abstract noun (ix. ii. 5). Thus, सप्रब् *maṣrab*, forgetting.

25. ड् ^u, this is optionally used to form masculine verbal abstract nouns from the three following roots (ix. ii. 6).

ददर <i>dōdar</i> , rot.	ददर ^u <i>dōdar^u</i> , rotting.
ज्वज़र <i>zōzar</i> , wither.	ज्वज़र ^u <i>zōzar^u</i> , withering.
ससर <i>sōsar</i> , decay.	ससर ^u <i>sōsar^u</i> , decaying.

26. ज् ^u is used optionally to form feminine verbal abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (viii. ii. 62, 63, 68, 72, 79).

तक् *tach*, pare, तक् ^u *tach^u*, scratching (also तक् *täch*); रक् *rach*, protect, रक् ^u *rach^u*, protection; छ़ाड *tshāḍ*, search, छ़ाड ^u *tshāḍ^u*, searching; छ़ाड *tshāḍ*, search (with a nasal), makes either छ़ाड ^u *tshāḍ^u*, or छ़ाड ^u *tshāḍ^u*; च़ान *chān*, sift, च़ान ^u *chān^u*; दोन *dōn*, card cotton, दूज ^u *dūn^u*; थार

ihār, be quick, थाक् *thāṛ*^ū; बाँबर *bābar*, be quick, बाँबरक् *bābar*^ū; सार *sār*, feel, सारक् *sār*^ū (*vide* p. 210); हन्द् *handar*, be cold, हन्द्क् *handar*^ū.

27. अ *a* (masc.); used optionally to form masculine verbal abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 7).

छुम् *chōmb*, husk; ज़स *zōs*, cough; बगार *bagār*, fry in oil; ब्यह *bēh*, sit; लम *lam*, pull; लोस *lōs*, be weary; वुन *wun*, be unlucky.

Thus, छुम् *chōmb*^a, the act of husking, and so on.

28. अ *a* (fem.) used optionally to form a feminine abstract verbal noun in the case of the verb वुंग *wuṅg*, to howl like a dog, in a special meaning (ix. ii. 57).

Thus, वुंग *wuṅg*^a, lying awake at night on account of some care.

वुंग *wuṅg*, means a dog's howl.

29. आव् *āv*. Used optionally in the case of the verb लद् *lad*, send, build, elevate, push, when it means 'build,' to form a masculine abstract noun. लद्वा *ladāv*, also means, the wages of building (ix. ii. 8).

30. — (masc.). Several verbs optionally drop all suffixes to form abstract nouns. In such cases roots ending in hard consonants aspirate them in the nominative singular and plural. These roots are classed according to their final letters. In the case of causal roots ending in अव *av*, the अव *av* is dropped.

(a) क *k*, certain verbs in क *k* and कव *kav*, make optional verbal abstract nouns by changing the क *k* or कव *kav* to ख् *kh* (ix. ii. 9). These verbs are,—

छक्क *chōkav*, wash.

छक्क *tshōk*, become speechless.

ढक्क *ṭak*, bite in two with a noise.

ढक्क *ṭuk*, bore like a rat.

डक्क *ṭōkav*, cause to disappear.

ढक्क *ṭhuk*, bury.

वुक *truk*, cut to pieces, eat (*vide* p. 210).

यक्क *thak*, be weary.

पाक्क *pākav*, cook.

फुक *phuk*, blow up fire.

ब्रक्क *brak*, clench with the teeth.

Thus, छुक् *chōkh*, the act of washing. छुक् *tshōkh*, speechlessness and so on. The root फुक *phuk* becomes फुक् *phōkh*, when it means 'to puff.' Otherwise it is simply फुक् *phukh*, the blowing of a fire.

(b) ग *g*. This case is exactly similar to the preceding one. It occurs in the case of three verbs (ix. ii. 10). Thus,—

OPTIONAL FORM OF ABSTRACT NOUN.

दगव *dōgav*, husk.

दग् *dōg*, husking.

रंग *ragg*, paint.

रग् *ragg*, painting.

सगव *sagav*, water plants.

सग् *sag*, watering.

(c) त्स *ts* (ix. ii. 11). It occurs only in the case of the verb,—

वाँत्स *wāṭs*, cheat; abstract noun वाँत् *wāṭ*, cheating.

(d) ट *t* (ix. ii. 12).

त्तेट *tṣēṭ*, powder; लूट *lūt*, rob; वाट *wāt*, join. These can form abstract nouns in ट *t*. Thus, त्तेट *tṣēṭh*, pounding to powder.

(e) ड *ḍ* (ix. ii. 13).

गंड *gaṇḍ*, tie; optional abstract noun, गंङ् *gaṇḍ*, tying.

(f) न *n* (ix. ii. 14).

खन *khan*, dig; खन् *tshēn*, cut; optional abstract nouns, खन् *khan*, digging, खन् *tshēn*, cutting.

(g) प *p*. The following verbs optionally make their abstract nouns in फ् *ph* (ix. ii. 15).

काँम्प *kāmp*, tremble; कृप *kṛp*, cut with scissors; च़ाप *tṣāp*, chew (Cf. No. 31n.); ज़प *zap*, mutter prayers; टप *ṭap*, kick of a horse, &c.

Thus, काँम्फ् *kāmph*, trembling, and so on.

(h) म *m* (ix. ii. 16).

ब्रम *bram*, be in error; abstract noun, optionally, ब्रम् *bram*.

(i) र *r* (ix. ii. 17).

चार *cār*, tie tightly.

चीर *cīr*, wring out.

तार *tār*, cross over (active).

फुकार *phukār*, speak in anger, bubble up (of steam).

फार *phyār*, strain (liquid).

मार *mār*, beat.

सर *sör*, remember.

Thus, optional abstract noun, चार् *cār*, tieing tightly.

(j) ल *l* (ix. ii. 18).

चल *tsəl*, force inside (active).

दल *tshal*, cheat.

जल *z^{al}*, scrape.

तोल *tōl*, weigh.

दल *dal*, split (active).

मेल *mēl*, meet.

Thus, optional abstract noun, चल् *tsəl*, forcing inside.

(k) व *w* (ix. ii. 19).

जुव *zuv*, live.

डुव *dur*, sweep.

ताव *tāv*, heat.

वहव *wōhav*, curse.

These optionally form their abstract nouns in व *v*. Thus, जुव *zuv*, life; वहव *wōhav*, cursing.

(l) स *s* (ix. ii. 20).

रस *ras*, be juicy.

हसव *h^{asav}*, incite.

Thus, रस् *ras*, juiciness; हस् *h^{as}*, inciting.

(m) ह *h* (ix. ii. 21, 22).

गह *g^{ah}*, grind.

चह *ts^{ah}*, suck.

गह *g^{ah}*, grinding; चह *ts^{ah}*, sucking. The former also makes गस् *gas*, grinding.

31. ——— (fem.). Several verbs optionally drop all suffixes to form feminine abstract nouns. In such cases, roots ending in hard consonants aspirate them in the nominative singular. These roots are classed according to their final letters.

In the case of causal roots ending in अव *av*, the अव *av*, is dropped.

The following are the verbs :—

(a) क *k* (ix. ii. 56).

छक *chak*, scatter.

चिक *chik*, sprinkle.

चमक *camak*, shine.

डक *ṭak*, run.

फूँक *phūṅk*, smell.

शक *ṣek*, doubt.

Thus, छक् *chākh*, (fem.) a scattering, a sowing of seed; शक् *ṣekh* (fem.), doubting.

(b) ख *kh* (ix. ii. 75).

There is only one, and it is irregular. लेख *lēkh*, write, makes लेफ *lēph*, a writing (nom. pl. लेफ *lēph*).

(c) ग *g* (ix. ii. 57).

जाग *zāg*, be watchful.

टाँग *ṭāṅg*, emit a loud cry.

दग *dag*, beat.

मंग *maṅg*, ask.

लग *lag*, be with.

लाग *lāg*, imitate.

वुंग *wuṅg*, bark (of a dog).

खंग *ṣōṅg*, sleep.

Thus, जाग *zāg*, watchfulness. वुंग *wuṅg*, is, specially, a dog's howl. वुंग *wuṅg*^a, means the lying awake at night owing to some care.

(d) छ *ch* (ix. ii. 61).

तछ *tach*, pare.

मन्दछ *mandach*, be ashamed.

Thus, तछ *tāch*, scratching. The first may also form तछ *tach*^u (62).

(e) त्स *ts* (ix. ii. 58).

पत्त *pats*, trust with a loan.

रोत्त *rōts*, be preferred.

श्रोत्त *ṣrōts*, be pure.

Thus, पक्ष् *pāṭṣh*, trust (of all kinds), रोक्ष् *rōṭṣh*, preference.

(f) क् *ṭṣh* (ix. ii. 59).

इक्ष् *yitṣh*, wish.

प्रिक् *pritṣh*, ask.

Thus, इक्ष् *yitṣh*, wishing. We say प्रिक्कारु करुनस् *pritṣh^a-gār^u kar^u-n-as*, asking, &c., was done by him for him.

(g) ज्ञ *z* (ix. ii. 64).

ग्रज् *graz*, roar.

Thus, ग्रज् *graz*, a roaring; ग्रजि कित् *grazi kyut^u*, for roaring (ix. i. 17).

(h) ट *t* (ix. ii. 65).

चूट् *tṣhūt*, break wind with noise.

कूट् *tṣhat*, winnow.

फुट् *phut*, be broken.

Thus, कूट् *tṣhātḥ*, winnowing.

(i) ठ *ṭh* (ix. ii. 66).

द्यट् *tyāṭh*, be bitter. The abstract noun, द्यट् *tyāṭh*, means necessity, necessariness.

Thus, तमांकि द्यट् *tamākⁱ tyāṭh*, the want of tobacco.

(j) ढ *ḍ* (ix. ii. 67, 68).

मांढ *māḍ*, mix.

कांढ *tṣhāḍ*, search.

The latter makes कांङ् *tṣhāḍ*, or कांङ् *tṣhāḍ^u*. [The verb कांङ् *tṣāḍ*, search, without the nasal, always makes कांङ् *tṣāḍ^u*].

(k) त *t* (ix. ii. 69).

न्यत् *nyat*, shear.

लतव *latav*, kick.

Thus, न्यत् *nyāṭh*, a shearing; लत् *lāṭh*, a kick.

(l) द *d* (ix. ii. 70).

पद *pad*, break wind.

प्यद *pyad*, be cognisant of.

पंद् *pōnd*, sneeze.

Thus, पंद् *pōnd*, a sneeze.

(m) न *n* (ix. ii. 71).

आसन *āman*, change for the bad.

ज्ञान *zān*, know.

Thus, आसन् *āman*, a change for bad.

(n) प *p* (ix. ii. 73).

चाप *tsāp*, gnaw.

Thus, चाप् *tsāph*, a gnawing (Of. No. 30g.).

(o) फ *ph* (ix. ii. 74).

बुफ *wuph*, fly.

Thus, बुप् *wuph* a flying.

(p) ब *b* (ix. ii. 76).

रंब *ramb*, be beautiful.

शूब *çūb*, be beautiful.

Thus, रब् *ramb*, beauty.

(q) य *y* (ix. ii. 77).

प्रय *pray*, be pleased with.

Thus, प्रय् *pray*, love.

(r) र *r* (ix. ii. 78).

आवर *āwar*, cover.

डखर *ḍakh^{ar}*, depend upon.

तुर *tūr*, be cold.

थाथर *thāthar*, be quick.

दोर *dōr*, run.

मूर *mūr*, husk.

लार *lār*, touch.

सखर *sakhar*, set forth.

लार *lār*, means absconding. The verb दुन्तर *dūntsh^{ar}*, separate, forms दुन्त् *dūntsh*, separating (ix. ii. 60). The verb, बडर *waḍ^{ar}*, bury makes वड् *wad* (ix. ii. 67).

(s) ल l (ix. ii. 80).

गांगल *gāgal*, }
 ग्रांगल *grāgal*, } be disturbed in one's work.

टाल *tāl*, go away with indifference.

तंबल *tambāl*, change one's mind.

मकल *mōkal*, be released.

व्वलल *wōlal*, adorn.

शहल *ṣahal*, be cold.

Thus मकल *mōkal*, release.

(t) व w, (ix. ii. 81).

दव *dav*, run.

Thus, दव *dav*, running.

32. इश् *iṣ* (ix. ii. 33). This is used optionally to form feminine abstract nouns or infinitives, in the case of the following verbs.

अक *tsōk*, be angry; तप *tap*, become hot; लंग *lagg*, be lame.

Thus, अकिश् *tsōkiṣ*, anger.

The ✓ मिलव *milav*, unite, irregularly forms मिलमिश् *milamiṣ* (ix. ii. 34).

33. अक *ak* (nom. sg. अख *akh*) (fem.), used to form a feminine abstract noun in the case of the verb पोट *pōth*, be fat; e.g., पोटख *pōthakh*, fatness (ix. ii. 45).

34. अत् *at* (nom. sg. अथ *ath*) (fem.), used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 44).

अर्ज *arz*, earn; बाव *bāv*, declare one's intentions; अपज *wōpaz*, become; अप *ṣap*, decay; स्यद *syad*, succeed; गर *gar*, make; वट *waṭ*, twist; शहल *ṣahal*, be cold; ह्यक *hyak*, be able.

Thus, अर्जत् *arzat*; nom. sg. अर्जथ *arzath*, earning.

35. अय *ay* (fem.), used to form feminine abstract nouns in the case of the following verbs (ix. ii. 46).

वखन *wakhan*, tell; खार *khār*, ascend; ज़ाग *zāg*, be watchful; वाल *wāl*, take down; नत्त *nats*, dance; हूख *hōkh*, be dry; आमन *āman*, change for the bad.

Thus, वखनय् *wakhanay*, telling. The verb मंग् *mayg*, ask, forms मांगय् *māṅgay*, asking (ix. ii. 47).

The verb बाग्र् *bāgr*, divide, forms बागय् *bāgay*, division, or बागनय् *bāganay* (ix. ii. 48, 54).

The verb जेन *žen*, conquer, forms जिय् *ziy*, victory (ix. ii. 49).

From the verb साव *sāv*, sleep, comes the derivative, उदसावय् *udasāvay*, waking, lying awake (ix. ii. 50).

The simple word सावय् *sāvay*, means 'happiness' (ix. ii. 51).

From the verb आसन *āman*, change for the worse, already mentioned, we also have हामनय् *hāmanay*, a false charge (ix. ii. 52).

From the verb लाग् *lāg*, cultivate, we have लागनय् *lāganay*, cultivation (ix. ii. 53).

From the verb साद *sād*, accomplish, we have सादनय् *sādanay*, a chief cause (ix. ii. 55).

36. अवञ् *awañ* (fem.) (with unmodified vowel). This is added to a verb to signify wages (ix. ii. 82, 83, 84). Thus,—

करवञ् *karawañ*, (fem.), the wages of doing; परवञ् *parawañ*, the wages of reading; लोनवञ् *lōnawañ*, the wages of reaping; रोजवञ् *rōzawañ*, the wages of remaining.

If the root ends in a vowel the suffix is ववञ् *warwañ*. Thus,—

(दि *di*) दिववञ् *diwawañ*, the wages of giving; निववञ् *niwawañ*, the wages of taking; ख्यववञ् *khyawawañ*, the wages of eating; चववञ् *cyawawañ*, the wages of drinking.

37. अन्हार् *anhār*, used to signify fitness (ix. ii. 91). Thus,—

करन्हार् *karanhār*, fit to be done.

गंडन्हार् *gandanhār*, fit to be bound.

If the verb ends in a vowel, the suffix becomes अनाहार् *anahār*. Thus,—

ख्यानहार् *khyanahār*, fit to be eaten.

चयनहार् *cyanahār*, fit to be drunk.

हयनहार् *hyanahār*, fit to be placed.

But as usual,—

निनहार *ninahār*, fit to be taken;

दिनहार *dinahār*, fit to be given;

यिनहार *yinahār*, fit to come.

The verb लग *lag* makes लगहार *lagahār*, which simply means
'worthy.'

On Secondary Suffixes in Kāçmīrī.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E.

[Read August, 1898.]

The following account of Secondary Suffixes in Kāçmīrī is based on the fourth part of Īçvara-kaula's *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. Some of the so-called suffixes are evidently merely nouns in composition, but I have thought it best to retain them.

The following suffixes express **Relationship**.

1. **पूत** *pūt*^u (iv. 1).¹ This Suffix (the Skr. पोतः *pōtaḥ*) added to a noun in the form of the instrumental singular case (the न् *n* of the first declension being dropped), signifies son, e.g.,—

दर *dar*, (instr. दरन् *daran*) a certain caste, दर-पूत *dar^a-pūt^u*, the son of a man of that caste.

कौल *kaul*, a certain caste, कौल-पूत *kaul^a-pūt^u*, the son of a man of that caste.

त्युक् *tyuk*^u (instr. तिकि *tiki*ⁱ), a certain caste, तिकि-पूत *tikiⁱ-pūt^u*, the son of a man of that caste.

काव *kāv*, a crow, काव-पूत *kāv^a-pūt^u*, a young crow.

कट *kaṭ*, a ram, कट-पूत *kaṭ^a-pūt^u*, a young ram.

Apparently irregular are,—

म्याँ-पूत *myā'-pūt^u*, a young ram; ककर-पूत *kōkar-pūt^u* a chicken;

कोतर-पूत *kōtar-pūt^u* a young pigeon; and पचिन्-पूत *pachin-pūt^u*, a young bird.

This Suffix can only be used with generic terms, such as the above. It cannot be used with proper names (iv. 2).

NOTE.—The word चूर-पूत *tsūr^a-pūt^u*, either means the son of a thief (चूर *tsūr*), or may be applied to children as a term of endearment (iv. 3).

¹ References here and elsewhere to the *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*.

When the Suffix is added to the word *मिष्* *miñ*, a kiss, *मिष्-पूत* *miñṣ-pūt*, or *मिष्-पूत* *mñṣ-pūt*, means simply a kiss (iv. 4).

2. *कट्* *kāṭh*. This word also means son, but is rarely used, except in abuse, or anger (iv. 5), e.g.,—

चूर-कट् *tsūr^a-kāṭh*, son of a thief.

गान-कट् *gān^a-kāṭh*, son of a pimp.

पोग-कट् *pōg^a-kāṭh*, son of destruction.

वाज़-कट् *wāz^a-kāṭh*, son of a cook.

रास-कट् *rās^a-kāṭh*, son of adultery.

बा-कट् *kō-kāṭh*, (कुपुत्रः) a bad son.

We also, however, find *ख-कट्* *sō-kāṭh*, a good son (*सुपुत्रः*) and *सख-कट्* *sōkh^a-kāṭh*, a son of happiness (*सुखपुत्रः*).

3. *कट्ट* *kaṭṭ*. This Suffix, on the contrary is used as a term of praise, with words signifying castes or professions (iv. 6), e.g.,—

बट-कट्ट *baṭ^a-kaṭṭ*, a real son of a brāhman (i.e., a good brāhman).

So *दर-कट्ट* *dar^a-kaṭṭ*, *कौल-कट्ट* *kaul^a-kaṭṭ*.

हान-कट्ट *chān^a-kaṭṭ*, a real son of a carpenter, a good carpenter.

Apparently irregular in not having a final *a* for the first member, are words like,—

सनर्-कट्ट *sōn^ar-kaṭṭ*, a real son of a gold-smith, a good gold-smith.

मनर्-कट्ट *man^ar-kaṭṭ*, a real son of a shell-worker, a good shell-worker, cf. No. 38.

We find also (from *मूँष* *mūṣ*, a buffalo, ante, p. 63), *मैँष-कट्ट* *maṣ^a-kaṭṭ*, a buffalo-calf.

4. *तुर्* *tur*, fem. *तर्* *tar*. This Suffix is associated with the relationship of first-cousin (iv. 8, 9, 10). Thus,—

पफतुर् *pōphatur^a bōy^a*, the son of a paternal aunt (*lit.*, brother by a paternal aunt).

मासतुर् *māsatur^a bōy^a*, the son of a maternal aunt.

मामतुर् *māmatur^a bōy^a*, the son of a maternal uncle.

पफतर् *pōphat^ar bēñṣ*, the daughter of a paternal aunt.

मासत्र् व्यञ्ज *māsatar bēñē*, the daughter of a maternal aunt.

मामत्र् व्यञ्ज *māmatar bēñē*, the daughter of a maternal uncle.

Irregular is पितृ बोय *pitur^u bōy^u* (fem. पितृ व्यञ्ज *pit^r bēñē*), the son (daughter) of a paternal uncle.

So also we have पत्नी काकञ्ज *pōphatar bāyⁱ kākāñ*, the wife of the son of a paternal aunt.

Similarly for the other wives, मासत्र् बायि काकञ्ज *māsatar bāyⁱ kākāñ*; मामत्र् बायि काकञ्ज *māmatar bāyⁱ kākāñ*, and पितृ बायि काकञ्ज *pit^r bāyⁱ kākāñ*.

5. थर् *th^r*, fem. ज्ञ *z^a* indicates, with a change in the termination of the root-word, the relationship of nephew (iv. 11, 12, 13). Thus,—

बाबथर् *bābath^r*, brother's son (बोय *bōy^u*, a brother).

बावज्ञ *bāw^uz^a*, brother's daughter.

ब्यनथर् *byanath^r*, sister's son (व्यञ्ज *bēñē* a sister).

ब्यनज्ञ *byan^az^a*, sister's daughter.

द्यारथर् *dyārath^r*, son of a husband's brother, (द्रियु *dryuy^u*, a husband's brother).

द्यारज्ञ *dyāraz^a*, the daughter of a husband's brother.

The following Suffixes form **adjectives of possession**.

6. अल् *al*, fem. अल् *al*. This Suffix is restricted to natural possessions, i.e., when a thing or quality is spoken of as not only accompanying an object, but as actually forming part of it (iv. 15–19), cf. No. 9. When added to verbal nouns, they must be in the feminine form, see p. 210.

As usual, the noun to which the suffix is added takes the form of the instrumental singular, but before अ *a*, इ *i* becomes य *y*, and अ *a*, for अन् *an*, is dropped. Thus,—

FROM.	WE HAVE.	
दाङ् <i>dāṅ^u</i> , a beard.	दायल् <i>dāryal</i> , fem. दायल् <i>dāryal</i> , bearded.	
गोङ् <i>gōṭsh</i> , a moustache.	गोङल् <i>gōṭshal</i> ,	moustached.
डङ् <i>ḍākh</i> , a hair-curl.	डङल् <i>ḍakhal</i> ,	curly-headed.
बब् <i>bab</i> , bosom.	बबल् <i>babal</i> ,	bosomed.
कोङ् <i>kōch</i> , belly.	कोङल् <i>kōchal</i> ,	bellied.

ह्यङ्ग <i>hyangg</i> , a horn.	ह्यङ्गल् <i>hyanggal</i> ,	horned.
ठूल् <i>thūlk</i> , blow of a horn.	ठूकल् <i>thūkal</i> ,	striking with the horn.
ठल्ल <i>thōl</i> , blow of a horn.	ठल्लल् <i>thōlal</i> ,	striking with the horn.
त्सप् <i>tsāph</i> , a bite.	त्सपल् <i>tsapal</i> ,	biting.
फश् <i>phaç</i> , brightness, cleanness.	फश्गल् <i>phaçal</i> ,	well-dressed.
ग्यङ्ग <i>gēñ</i> , a wrinkle.	ग्यङ्गल् <i>gēñal</i> ,	wrinkled.
स्यस् <i>syas</i> , a wart.	स्यसल् <i>syasal</i> ,	warted.
घण्ड <i>pōnd</i> , a sneeze.	घण्डल् <i>pōndal</i> ,	one who sneezes.
मच्छयच <i>machčēč</i> , moles.	मच्छयचल् <i>machčēčal</i> ,	covered with moles.
त्सास् <i>tsās</i> , a cough.	त्सासल् <i>tsāsāl</i> ,	one who has a cough.
चूँट <i>tsūñt</i> , crepitus ventris.	चूँटल् <i>tsūñtal</i> ,	one who breaks wind.

So also we have,—

हाक् <i>hātsh</i> , an accusation (fem.).	हात्तल् <i>hātshāl</i> ,	one who brings an accusation (not an accused person).
ज्यव् <i>zyav</i> , a tongue.	ज्यवल्ल <i>zyaval</i> ,	a calumniator. The word does not mean possessing a tongue, which is ज्यविसस्तु <i>zēvisastu</i> , or ज्यविबोलु <i>zēvivōl</i> , (No. 9).

When this suffix is added to the words ब्यङ्ग *bēñē*, a sister, and कूल् *kūñ*, a daughter, the compound implies incestuous sexual connexion, thus, ब्यङ्गल् *bēñēl*, कोर्यल् *kōryal*. To convey the idea of possessing a sister or a daughter we must say ब्यङ्गबोलु *bēñēwōl*, कोर्यबोलु *kōrēwōl*, (No. 9).

The word दाह् *dār*, a beard, optionally takes the suffix याल् *yāl* thus दाह्यल् *dāryal*, or दाहियाल् *dār'yāl*, bearded (iv. 19).

The word यड् *yad*, a belly, becomes यडल् *yadāl*, having a large belly, pot-bellied (iv. 30). On the other hand यडल् *yad^{al}*, means 'gluttonous' (iv. 31). So from हर *har*, a quarrel, we have हरल् *har^{al}*,

quarrelsome (iv. 32), and from जत् *jat*, hair, जत्स् *jats^{al}*, very hairy (iv. 33).

7. लद् *lad*, fem. लद् *lad*. This suffix is sometimes used instead of अल् *al*, but usually in a bad sense (iv. 20, 21). Thus,—

फक् <i>phak</i> , a stink.	फकलद् <i>phakalad</i> fem.	फकलद् <i>phakalad</i> stinking.
ठ्ठक् <i>tshök</i> , slyness.	ठ्ठकलद् <i>tshök^{alad}</i> ,	sly.
ठ्ठक् <i>chök</i> , a sore.	ठ्ठकलद् <i>chök^{alad}</i> ,	full of sores.
बक् <i>bak</i> , a cry.	बकलद् <i>bakalad</i> ,	prating.
द्वक् <i>dökh</i> , pain.	द्वकलद् <i>dökhalad</i> ,	pained.
द्राग् <i>dräg</i> , a famine.	द्रागलद् <i>drägalad</i> ,	afflicted with famine.

This termination cannot be substituted for अल् *al* in every case. For instance we cannot say गौललद् *gō^{al}lad*, डखलद् *ḍakhalad*, or बवलद् *babalad*. But with some words both अल् *al* and लद् *lad* can be used. Thus besides गञ्जल् *gē^{al}*, we can have गञ्जलद् *gē^{alad}*, wrinkled; besides स्यसल् *syasal*, स्यसलद् *syasalad*, warted; and besides त्वासल् *tsās^{al}*, त्वासिलद् *tsās^{ilad}* (*sic*). When the word फश् *phaç* means eccentricity, it takes the termination लद् thus फशलद् *phaçalad*, mad, eccentric. When it means brightness, it takes the termination अल् thus फशल् *phaçal*.

8. योर् *yōr^u*, fem. योर् *yōr^u*. This suffix occurs in the following words. It is added as usual to the instrumental in the first two cases. In the last it is irregular (iv. 22, 23) :—

पज् <i>paz^u</i> , truth.	पजियोर् <i>pazⁱyōr^u</i> ,	fem. पजियार् <i>pazⁱyār^u</i> , truthful.
अपज् <i>apaz^u</i> , untruth.	अपजियोर् <i>apazⁱyōr^u</i> ,	fem. अपजियार् <i>apazⁱyār^u</i> , untruthful.
मञ्जिम् <i>manzyum^u</i> ,	मञ्जियोर् <i>manzyum^uyōr^u</i> ,	a go between, a medium.

The last word is really a compound substantive and its fem. is मञ्जिमयार्थञ् *manzim^uyārēñ*.

9. वोल् *wōl^a*, fem. वाच्य् *wājēñ*; a suffix signifying possession, when the thing possessed accompanies the possessor, but does not actually form part of it (iv. 24). (Cf. No. 6).

As elsewhere, the suffix is added to the instrumental singular. Thus,—

द्यार् <i>dyār</i> , (masc.) wealth.	द्यारवोल् <i>dyārawōl^a</i> fem.	द्यारवाच्य् <i>dyārawājēñ</i> , wealthy.
लार् <i>lar^a</i> , (fem.) a house.	लारिवोल् <i>lariwōl^a</i> ,	लारिवाच्य् <i>lariwājēñ</i> , possessing a house.
शाय् <i>çāy</i> , (fem.) a place.	शायिवोल् <i>çāyiwōl^a</i> ,	शायिवाच्य् <i>çāyiwājēñ</i> , possessing a place.
कूर् <i>kūr^a</i> , a daughter.	कोरिवोल् <i>kōriwōl^a</i> ,	कोरिवाच्य् <i>kōriwājēñ</i> , possessing a daughter.
न्यचिव् <i>nēciv^u</i> , a son.	न्यचिविवोल् <i>nēcivⁱwōl^a</i> ,	न्यचिविवाच्य् <i>nēcivⁱwājēñ</i> , possessing a son.

But,—

गुप् <i>gupun</i> , a quadruped.	गुप्नवोल् <i>gupanwōl^a</i> , possessing herds.
गर <i>gar^a</i> , a house.	{ गरीवोल् <i>garwōl^a</i> , the master of a house. गरवोल् <i>garawōl^a</i> , possessing a house.

10. ग्राक् *grākh*, fem. ग्राक्य् *grakañ*. This may be used instead of वोल् *wōl^a* in the same sense (iv. 24). Thus,—

लार् *lar^a*, a house, लारिग्राक् *larigrākh*, fem. लारिग्राक्य् *larigrākañ*, possessing a house, and so on.

11. हत् *hat^a*, fem. ह्यत् *hats^u*. This suffix denotes inconvenience experienced by the mind or feeling, but not by the corporeal body (iv. 25). The usual rule is followed in adding the suffix. Thus,—

न्यंदर् *nyand^{ar}* (fem.), sleep, न्यंदरिहत् *nyand^{ar}i^hat^u*, fem. न्यंदरिह्यत् *nyand^{ar}i^hats^u*, afflicted with sleep.

चेष् <i>trēṣ</i> (masc.) thirst.	चेष्हत् <i>trēṣahat^a</i> , thirsty.
बूक् <i>bōch^a</i> , hunger.	बूक्हत् <i>bōchahat^a</i> , hungry.
क्रूद् <i>krūd</i> , anger.	क्रूद्हत् <i>krūdahat^a</i> , angry.
गुम् <i>guma</i> , sweat.	गुम्हत् <i>gumahat^a</i> , sweaty.

ताप् *tāph*, sunshine.तापहत् *tāpahat*^u, feeling the sunshine.तूर *tūr*, cold.तूरिहत् *tūrihat*^u, feeling cold.आर् *ār*, pity.आरहत् *ārahat*^u, pitiful.

In the two following the adjectives formed do not necessarily refer to mind or feeling,—

लव *law*^a, dew.लवहत् *lawahat*^u, dewy.ताव *tāw*, warmth.तावहत् *tāwahat*^u, warm.

E.g., तावहत् बुतराय *tāwahats^u butarāth*, warm ground.

12. अत् *vyat*^a, fem. अच् *vyats^u*. This suffix is added in the case of the words मंदह *mandach^a*, shame; मोद *mōd^a*, respect; मान *mān^a*, honour, in the same meaning as बोलु *wōl^u* (iv. 26). Thus,—

मंदहयत् *mandachavyat^u*, fem. मंदहयच् *mandachavyats^u*, ashamed.

मोदयत् *mōdavyat^u*, fem. मोदयच् *mōdavyats^u*, respected.

मानयत् *mānavyat^u*, fem. मानयच् *mānavyats^u*, honoured.

So also,—

बर्सायत् *barsāvyat^u*, fem. बर्सायच् *barsāvyats^u*, wealthy.

13. आन् *ān*, fem. आन *ān*, added to the words दंद *dand*, a tooth, and नस् *nast*, a nose, in a bad sense (iv. 28).

Thus, दंदान् *dandān*, fem. दंदान् *dandān*, having an ugly tooth.

नस्तान् *nastān*, having an ugly nose.

14. उ^u, fem. क^u. This is used with the same words in the same meaning (iv. 29).

नस् *nast^u*, fem.

नस् *nast^u*.

दंद *dand^u*, fem.

दंद *dand^u*.

15. ऊर् *ūr^u*, fem. ऊर् *ūr^u*, a variant of the preceding (iv. 29).

नस् *nastūr^u*, fem. नस् *nastūr^u*.

दंद *dandūr^u*, fem. दंद *dandūr^u*.

16. अट *at*, fem. अट *at*, added to वैस् *vaīs*, age, gives वैसट् *vaīsāt*, meaning 'very old.' Added to र् *r^as*, malice, we have र्षट् *r^aṣāt*, malicious (iv. 34, 35).

17. इट् *it*, fem. इट् *it*, is used as follows (iv. 36-38).

From अक्षि *achī*, the eye.

अक्षीट् *achīt*, fem. अक्षीट् *achīt*, having the evil eye.

रूप *rūp*, beauty.

रूपिट् *rūpīt*, very beautiful.

लूब् *lūb*, desire.

लूबिट् *lūbīt*, covetous.

ज्यव् *zyav*, tongue.

ज्यविट् *zēvit*, a calumniator.

18. ऊट् *ūth*, fem. ऊट् *ūth*, as in ल्यक् *lyākh* (fem.) abuse, ल्यकल्ल *lyakal*, or ल्यकल्लूट् *lyakalūth*, abusive (iv. 39).

The following suffixes form **Abstract Nouns**.

19. अर् *ar*, (masc.) added to adjectives (iv. 41). This termination is added in the usual way to the form of the case of the agent, *i* becoming *y*. Thus,—

बिद्यु *byuy*^u, stale.

बिद्यर् *biyyar*, staleness.

त्सर *tsar*^u, much.

त्सर्यर् *tsaryar*, excess.

फहर् *phahur*^u, hard.

फहयर् *phaharyar*, hardness.

नव *nav*^u, new.

नयर् *navyar*, newness.

पप *pap*^u, ripe.

पयर् *papyar*, ripeness.

फफ *phaph*^u, stammering.

फफर् *phaphyar*, stammeringness.

ग्व *gōb*^u, heavy.

ग्वयर् *gōbyar*, heaviness.

अम *am*^u, unripe.

आम्यर् *āmyar*, unripeness.

गश् *gaç*^u, silent.

गश्यर् *gaçyar*, silence.

त्सो *tsōṣ*^u, acrid.

त्सायर् *tsāṣyar*, acidity.

फरि *phariç*^u, hard (fem).

फरिश्यर् *phariçyar*, hardness.

The last adjective is only used in the feminine.

The main word is also subject to the following changes,—

(a) If the adjective is of three or more syllables, अर् *ar* becomes आर् *ār* (iv. 42). Thus,—

वज्रलु *wōzrul*^u, red.

वज्रय्यर् *wōzajyār*, redness (see i. below).

मकुल *mōkul*^u, free.

मकय्यर् *mōkajyār*, free.

(b) This rule is, however, not universal (iv. 44). Thus,—

अपज्ज् <i>apaz^u</i> , untruthful.	अपज्जर <i>apazar</i> , untruthfulness (see h. below).
कृहन् <i>krhaṇ^u</i> , black.	कृहज्जर <i>krhañar</i> , blackness (see h. below).
कात्तुर <i>kātsur^u</i> , tawny.	कात्तयर् <i>kātsaryar</i> , tawniness.
कावुर् <i>kāwun^u</i> , dark-blue.	कावयर् <i>kāwaryar</i> , dark-blueness.
कपुन् <i>krpun^u</i> , miserly.	कपज्जर <i>krpañar</i> miserliness (see h. below).
कायुर् <i>kāyur^u</i> , pinewood.	काययर् <i>kāyaryar</i> , the nature of pinewood.
खोवुर् <i>khōwur^u</i> , left (not right).	खोवयर् <i>khōwaryar</i> , leftness.
ग्यथोम् <i>gēṭhōm^u</i> , light black.	ग्यथाम्यर् <i>gēṭhāmyar</i> , light blackness.
त्तुर् <i>tsatur^u</i> , skilful.	त्तयर् <i>tsataryar</i> , skilfulness.
विसम् <i>wisam^u</i> , uneven.	विसम्यर् <i>wisamyar</i> , unevenness.

(c) The word टोट् *tōth^u*, dear, beloved, forms टाठज्जर *tāṭhañar* or टाठ्यर् *tāchyar*, belovedness (iv. 43).

(d) When the word हश् *haç*, a mother-in-law, takes अर् *ar*, the word हश्जर *haçar* is only used in low abuse. The right word for the condition of a mother-in-law is हश्तोन् *haçatōn^u* (No. 27) (iv. 45).

(e) The suffix is optional in the case of the following (iv. 46).

कौब् <i>kōb^u</i> , hunchbacked.	कौब् <i>kōb^u</i> , or कौब्यर् <i>kōbyar</i> , hunchbackedness.
गश् <i>gaç^u</i> , silent.	गश् <i>gaç^u</i> or गश्यर् <i>gaçyar</i> , silence.

(f) When the adjective ends in *u-mātrā* preceded by क् *k*, ख् *kh*, or ग् *g*, these letters become च् *c*, छ् *ch*, and ज् *j* respectively (iv. 47). Thus,—

निकु <i>nyuk^u</i> , little.	नियर् <i>nicyar</i> , littleness.
टकु <i>ṭak^u</i> , sharp.	टयर् <i>ṭacyar</i> , sharpness.
कख् <i>hōkh^u</i> , dry.	कख्यर् <i>hōchyar</i> , dryness.

त्रिख tryukh^u, clever.

त्रिखर् trichyar, cleverness.

द्रग drög^u, dear.

द्रग्यर् drögyar, dearness.

स्रग srög^u, cheap.

स्रग्यर् srögyar, cheapness.

Exceptions are (iv. 48), *vide ante*, pp. 32, 182,—

त्सक tsök^u, sour.

त्सक्यर् tsökyar, sourness.

खूख khūkh^u, speaking
through the nose.

खूख्यर् khūkhkyar, nasality of voice.

(g) Under similar conditions, ट *t* becomes च *c*, ठ *th* becomes च *ch*, ड *ḍ* becomes ज *j*, and ण *ṇ* becomes ञ *ṇ* (iv. 49). Thus,—

मट mṭ^u, fat.

मच्यर् mōcyar, fatness.

गट gaṭ^u, dark.

गच्यर् gacyar, darkness.

द्राठ drāṭh^u, hard.

द्राच्यर् drāchyar, hardness.

मूठ mūṭh^u, lazy.

मैच्यर् maichyar, laziness.

मंड mṇḍ^u, blunt.

मंज्यर् mōñjyar, bluntness.

बड baḍ^u, great.

बच्यर् bajyar, greatness.

प्रोण prōṇ^u, old.

प्राञ्यर् prāñyar, oldness, (see *h*, for
elision of *y*).

(h) Under similar circumstances, त *t* becomes त्स *ts*, थ *th* becomes त्स *ts*, द *d* becomes ज, and न *n* becomes ञ *ṇ*, after all of which *y* is elided (iv. 50, 51). Thus,—

तत tat^u, hot.

तत्सर tatsar, heat.

मत maṭ^u, madness.

मत्सर matsar, madness.

रत raṭ^u, good.

रत्सर r^otsar, health of body (iv. 41).

वथ waṭh^u, open.

वत्सर wats^har, openness.

थद thaḍ^u, high.

थजार thazar, height.

मंड mand^u, sick.

मंजार manzar, sickness.

तन taṇ^u, thin.

तन्जार tañar, thinness.

गुमन gumāṇ^u, slightly dirty.

गुमञ्जार gumañār (see *a*) slight
dirtiness.

तमन tamaṇ^u, black.

तमञ्जार tamañār, blackness.

तुरन tūraṇ^u, cold.

तुरञ्जार tūrañār, coldness.

अनं *anⁿ*, blind.अनार *añar*, blindness.कटमलिनु *kaṭamalyunⁿ*, half-clean.कटमलिजार *kaṭamaliñār*, half-clean-ness.

From the word पनुनु *panunⁿ*, own, we get irregularly पानजार *pānañār*, selfness.

Similarly य *y* is elided in other cases after modified consonants.

Thus, in प्राजार *prāñār* in (g) above, so,—

छत्रु *tshōtsⁿ*, empty.छत्रार *tshōtsar*, emptiness.अक्षु *aṭshⁿ*, weak.अक्षार *aṭshar*, weakness.पजु *pazⁿ*, true.पजार *pazar*, truth.

(i) So also, when *u-mātrā* is preceded by ल *l*, the ल *l* becomes ज *j* (iv. 52). Thus,—

खलु *khalⁿ*, open.खज्यार *khajyar*, openness.बलु *wulⁿ*, fickle.बोज्यार *wōjyar*, fickleness.कुमुलु *kumulⁿ*, delicate (see a).कुमज्यार *kumajyār*, delicateness.वजुलु *wōzulⁿ*, red.वजज्यार *wōzajyār*, redness.जायुलु *zāyulⁿ*, fine.जायज्यार *zāyⁿjyār*, fineness.पिशुलु *piṣulⁿ*, soft.पिशज्यार *piṣajyār*, softness.

(j) Similarly we have (iv. 53),—

चक्रु *trakurⁿ*, hard.चकज्यार *trakajyār* orचकर्यार *trakaryar*, hardness (see b).

(k) Similarly ह *h* becomes ष *ṣ* (iv. 54). Thus,—

हिहु *hyuhⁿ*, like.हिष्यार *hiṣyar*, similarity.त्रोहु *tsohⁿ*, acrid.त्राष्यार *tsōṣyar*, acidity.

(l) Similarly स *s* optionally becomes ष *tsh* (iv. 55). Thus,—

कूसु *kūsⁿ*, youngest.कैरु *kaītshar* or कैसर *kaīsar*, the condition of a youngest son.

20. ईमी *īmī* (fem.). This is optionally used instead of अर *ar*, after बहु *baḍⁿ*, great, thus बडीमी *baḍīmī*, or बज्यार *bajyar* (No. 19, g), greatness (iv. 56).

21. यार् *yār^u* (fem.). This is optionally used instead of अर *ar*, in the two following words (iv. 57).

शुद्ध *śrūts^u*, pure.

शुद्धियार् *śrūts^uyār^u* or ओत्तर *ōṭṭsar* (20, *h*), purity.

अशुद्ध *aśhyat^u*, impure.

अशुद्धियार् *aśhēṭ^uyār^u* or अचर *aśhēcyar* (20, *g*), impurity.

22. ज् *z* (fem.). This is added to words ending in योर् *yōr^u*. Thus from (iv. 58).

मझिम्-योर् *manzyum^u-yōr^u*,
a go-between (see No. 8).

मझिम्-यार्ज् *manzim^u-yār^uz* (the fem. form of मझिम् *manzyum^u* is used), the office of a go-between.

पजियोर् *pazⁱyōr*, truthful.

पजियार्ज् *pazⁱyār^uz*, truthfulness.

अपजियोर् *apazⁱyōr^u*, untruthful.

अपजियार्ज् *apazⁱyār^uz*, untruthfulness.

So (cf. No. 21).

शुद्धियार्ज् *śrūts^uyār^uz*, purity, and

अशुद्धियार्ज् *aśhēṭ^uyār^uz*, impurity.

23. इल् *il* (fem.), used to form abstract nouns from substances, not from adjectives (iv. 59).

Thus, पण्डित् *paṇḍith*, a paṇḍit, पण्डितिल् *paṇḍiṭil*, the condition of a paṇḍit.

हान् *chān*, a carpenter.

हानिल् *chānil*, the condition of a carpenter.

गोर् *gōr*, a priest.

गूरिल् *gūril*, the condition of a priest.

This suffix cannot be used with every word. Sometimes No. 24, must be used. We cannot for instance, say, from दसिल् *dōsil*, a plasterer, दसिलिल् *dōsⁱlil*, the office of a plasterer. We can only say दसिलार्ज् *dōsⁱlāz* (iv. 60).

The word लाइ *lāṭsh*, a eunuch, is irregular. It forms लाइल् *lāṭshil*, or लूइल् *lūṭshil* (iv. 62).

24. ^पञ्ज *āz*, (fem.), used optionally instead of the proceeding (iv. 59, 60). Thus,—

^पण्डिताञ्ज *paṇḍitāz*, the condition of a paṇḍit.

^कानाञ्ज *chānāz*, the condition of a carpenter.

^गोराञ्ज *gōrāz*, the condition of a priest.

^दसिलाञ्ज *dōsilāz*, the condition of a plasterer.

25. ^दलाञ्ज *lāz*, (fem.), is a compound of the two preceding which is sometimes used (iv. 61).

^मतु *mat^u*, a madman.

^मतिल् *matil* or ^मतिलाञ्ज *matilāz*, the condition of a madman. If ^मतु *mat^u* is used to mean 'mad,' (as an adjective), its abstract noun would be ^मत्तर *mat^{ar}* (No. 19, h).

^{ब्र}द्ध *brēth*, ignorant.

^{ब्र}द्धिलाञ्ज *brēthilāz*, ignorance.

So ^गूरिलाञ्ज *gurilāz*, ^चानिलाञ्ज *chānilāz*.

26. वय् *way*, (fem.), used to mean the wages of any act (ix. ii. 85-87). Thus,—

^कानवय् *chānaway* (fem.), the wages of a carpenter.

^दसिलवय् *dōsilaway* (fem.), the wages of a plasterer.

From नाव् *nāv*, a boat, we have ^नावय् *nāway*, the hire of a boat.

From बोद् *bōr^u* or बार् *bār*, a burden, we have ^बाव्वय् *bār^uvay*, the wages of a porter.

27. तोनु *tōn^u* (masc.). This gives a meaning of relationship. It is added, as usual to the agent form (iv. 63). Thus,—

^मोलु *mōl^u*, a father.

^मालितोनु *mālītōn^u*, fatherhood.

^{मा}ज्जु *māj^u*, a mother.

^{मा}जितोनु *mājītōn^u*, motherhood.

^बोय् *bōy^u*, a brother.

^बायितोनु *bāyītōn^u*, brotherhood.

^{पु}थर् *pu^{thar}*, a son.

^{पु}त्रतोनु *pu^{tr}ratōn^u*, sonhood.

^हश् *haç*, mother-in-law.

^हश्तोनु *haçatōn^u*, mother-in-lawhood.

28. पोन् *pōn*ⁿ, used instead of No. 27 when the relationship is not intimate (iv. 63). Thus,—

व्यस् *vyas*, a comrade.

दाय् *dāy*, a nurse.

पोज् *pōj*ⁿ, low.

व्यसपोन् *vyasapōn*ⁿ, comradeship.

दायपोन् *dāyapōn*ⁿ, nursehood.

पाजिपोन् *pājipōn*ⁿ, lowness of position (in a household).

29. उत् *ut* (masc.), used with the following words (iv. 64).

शथर् *ṣath^r*, an enemy.

मथर् *myath^r*, a friend.

पितुर् *pitur*, a father.

रस्य् *ṛsⁿ*, a saint.

बन्द् *band*, a relation.

शत्तुत् *ṣat^rrut*, enemyhood.

मत्तुत् *myat^rrut*, friendhood.

पितुत् *piturut*, fatherhood.

रस्युत् *ṛsyut*, sainthood.

बन्दुत् *bandut*, relationship.

30. उन् *un* (masc.), used with the following word (iv. 65).

मेथ् *maith*, a corpse.

मेतुन् *maibun*, the condition of a corpse.

31. उस् *us* (masc.), used with the following words (iv. 66, 67).

मण्ड् *mōṇḍ*, a widow.

दबु *dobⁿ*, a washerman (Cf. p. 34).

मण्डुस् *mōṇḍus*, widowhood.

दबुस् *dōbus*, a washerman's club, but दबिल् *dōbil*, the condition of a washerman (No. 23).

32. बद् *badⁿ* (masc.), used in the following (iv. 68).

सन् *sōn*, a co-wife.

सनबद् *sōnbadⁿ*, co-wifeness.

[So also पितुर्बद् *pit^rbadⁿ*, fatherhood; बायिबद् *bāyibadⁿ*] or बाजिबद् *bājibadⁿ*, brotherhood, commensality (iv. 69).

The suffix is used with the numerals 100, and above (iv. 70), as follows:—

हथ् *hāth*, a hundred.

सास् *sās*, a thousand.

लक्ष् *lāch*, a hundred thousand.

हतबद् *hatabadⁿ*, hundreds.

सासबद् *sāsabadⁿ*, thousands.

लक्ष्यबद् *lāchyabadⁿ*, hundreds of thousands.

Applied to vegetables, it means a bundle,—

हाक् *hāk*, spinach.

हाकबद् *hākabād*, a bundle of spinach.

मुज् *muj*, a radish.

मुजिबद् *mujibād*, a bundle of radishes.

ग्वग्ज् *gōgʹj*, a turnip.

ग्वग्जिबद् *gogʹjibād*, a bundle of turnips.

In all the above, as usual, the suffix is added to the form of the agent. मुज् *muj*, may also be मुजि *mujī*, and it would then form मुजिबद् *mujibād*. Cf. No. 82 post.

33. बद् *bāth* (fem.), used in the following, बाजिबद् *bājibād*, commensality (see No. 32), (iv. 69).

34. उल् *ul* fem. ज् *j*, used to form adjectives as follows (iv. 72–87).

गाट् *gāt*, wisdom.

गाटुल् *gātul*, fem. गाट्ज् *gātʹj*, skilful.

काण्ड् *kōṇḍ*, a large spring, also a large round earthen vessel.

काण्डुल् *kōṇḍul*, fem. काण्ड्ज् *kōṇḍʹj* circular.

गण्ड् *gaṇḍ*, a knot.

गण्डुल् *gaṇḍul*, fem. गण्ड्ज् *gaṇḍʹj*, in quantities, wholesale.

गत् *gāt*, current of a river.

गतुल् *gātul*, fem. गत्ज् *gātʹj*, excessive, very much.

गद् *gad*, (not used).

गदुल् *gadul*, fem. गद्ज् *gadʹj*, very much.

टद् *ṭāth*, a weight (usually of grain) weighing twelve seers.

टदुल् *ṭāthul*, fem. टद्ज् *ṭāthʹj*, large enough to hold a *ṭāth*.

द्गु *dōg*, a fist.

द्गुल् *dōgul* fem. दग्ज् *dōgʹj*, shaped like a fist, lumpish.

पद् *pōt*, a child.

पदुल् *pōtul*, fem. पद्ज् *pōtʹj*, an image, an idol.

मल्ल *mōl*, price.मल्लुल *mōlul^u*, fem. मल्लजू *mōlājū^u*,
costly, high-priced.सादु *sād*, taste.सादुल *sādul^u*, fem. सादुजू *sādājū^u*,
taste, nice to eat.काक् *kōtsh*, bag.काकुल *kōtshul^u*, fem. काक्जू *kōtshējū^u*,
a porter.छक् *chōkh*, cleansing.छकुल *chōkul^u*, fem. छक्जू *chōkējū^u*,
clear, distinct.त्सट् *tsāth*, cutting.त्सटुल *tsatul^u*, fem. त्सटजू *tsatājū^u*,
a thief.पथ् *pāth*, trust.पतुल *patul^u*, fem. पतजू *patājū^u*, a
raft (fem. a mat).त्सठ् *tsōth*, the anus.त्सठुल *tsōtul^u*, fem. त्सठजू *tsōtējū^u*, a
sodomite.राथ् *rāth*, night.रातुल *ratul^u*, night-time.दह् *dōh*, day.दुहुल *duhul^u*, day-time.मुन् *mūn*, wool.मुनुल *munul^u*, fem. मुनुजू *munējū^u*,
woollen (with short ante-
penult).

35. युल *yul^u*, fem. इजू *ijū^u*, used to form adjectives as follows (iv. 88-95).

टप् *tap^u*, ringlets.टपुल *tapyl^u*, fem. टपिजू *tapijū^u*,
having much hair.जट् *jaṭ^u* (pl.), matted hair.जतुल *jatyl^u*, fem. जटिजू *jatijū^u*,
having matted hair.दाह् *dāh*, burning.दाहुल *dahyl^u*, fem. दाहिजू *dahijū^u*,
piteous (with short antepenult).रस् *ras* flavour.रसुल *rasyul^u*, fem. रसिजू *rasijū^u*,
full of flavour, imparting
flavour. *E.g.*, रसुल चुह् ग्यवान्
rasyul^u chuh gyawān, he is sing-
ing sweetly.

मह् *māṭsh*, consolation.

मह्युल् *matshyul^u*, fem. महिजू *matshijū*, consolatory.

स्रह् *srēh*, affection.

स्रिह्युल् *srihyul^u*, fem. स्रिहिजू *srihijū*, affectionate (with change of antepenult, vowel).

मिष् *miṣ*, a rag-nail, a piece of loose skin at the nail, a dolly-idler.

मिष्युल् *miṣyul^u*, the same as *miṣ*; also a splinter or thorn under the nail.

सख् *syākh*, sand.

सख्युल् *sēkyul^u*, fem. सकिजू *sēkijū*, sandy, e.g., सकिजू बुतराथ् *sēkijū butarāth*, sandy soil; also sandy-tasty, mealy, of fruit.

माजू *mājū*, a mother.

माज्युल् *mājyul^u*, shy, tied to his mother's apron strings.

36. युन् *yun^u*, fem. इन् *iñ*, occurs as follows (iv. 96).

मल् *mal*, dirt.

मल्युन् *malyun^u*, fem. मलिन् *malin*, dirty.

The termination also implies measure or weight (iv. 109). Thus,—

त्रक् *trākh*, a weight or measure of four and three quarter seers.

त्राक्युन् कट् *trākyun^u kāṭh*, a ram weighing a *trākh*; त्राक्युन् नट् *trākyun^u naṭ*, a jar holding a *trākh*.

सेर् *sēr*, a seer.

सीर्युन् थाल् *siryun^u thāl*, a dish holding a seer.

खार् *khār*, a measure of sixteen *trākhs*.

खार्युन् बोर् *khāryun^u bōr*, a load weighing a *khār*.

चत्रोक् *tsōtrōk^u*, a measure of four *trākhs*.

चत्राक्युन् *tsōtrākyun^u*, containing that measure.

पल् *pal*, four *tolahs*.

पल्युन् *palyun^u*, weighing four *tolahs*.

पाँजुव् *pāzuv^u*, half a *trākh*.

पाँजागुन् *pāzāgun^u*, measuring half a *trākh* (iv. 110).

It will be observed that all the above are more or less irregular.

The suffix is also used with the words for sixty and seventy (iv. 111).

षेढ् *ṣeṭh*, sixty.

शीथुन् *ṣiṭhyun^u*, worth sixty.

सतथ् *satath*, seventy.

सतत्युन् *satatyun^u*, worth seventy.

We cannot do this with other numbers. Thus we say दहन् *dahan* दहन् *hand^u* (genitive) दह्द, a bullock worth ten.

It is also used with pronouns (iv. 112). Thus,—

त्युत् *tyūt^u*, so much.

तीत्युन् *tītyun^u*, worth so much.

य्युत् *yyūt^u*, how much.

वीत्युन् *yītyun^u*, worth how much.

कूत् *kūt^u*, how much ?

कूत्युन् *kūtyun^u*, worth how much ?

यूत् *yūt^u*, this much.

ईत्युन् *yītyun^u*, worth this much.

We also have (iv. 113).

वरिह् *warihy*, a year.

वार्थुन् *wārṣyun^u*, of one year ; one year old.

37. उन् *un^u*, is used as follows (iv. 97-98).

कूट् *kūt^u*, a beam.

कूटुन् *kūṭun^u*, a small beam, a stick.

दग् *dag*, a blow.

दगुन् *dagun^u*, a club, a mace.

38. र् *r*, is used with the following words to signify profession or calling (iv. 99-108).

रङ्ग् *rang*, colour.

रङ्ग् *rang^{ar}*, a dyer.

सन् *śon*, gold.

सन् *śon^{ar}*, a goldsmith.

मन् *man*, a precious stone.

मन् *man^{ar}*, a lapidary.

त्सम् *tsam*, skin.

त्सम् *tsam^{ar}*, a leather worker.

दाह् *dāh*, a bull.

दाह् *dāh^{ar}*, a vegetable seller.

काह् *kāh* (not used).

काह् *kāh^{ar}*, a baker.

डाह् *dāh*, destruction.

डाह् *dāh^{ar}*, a destroyer.

फाह् *phāh*, discord.

फाह् *phāh^{ar}*, a causer of discord.

बङ्ग् *bang^a*, Indian hemp.

बङ्ग् *bang^{ar}*, a hemp-smoker.

बम् *bam*, an impediment.

बम् *bam^{ar}*, an impeder.

लम् *lam^a*, delay.

लम् *lam^{ar}*, a delayer.

लाब् *lāb*, interest.

लाब् *lāb^{ar}*, a money lender.

साल् *sāl*, invitation.सालर् *sāl^{ar}*, a member of a bridegroom's party.लूठ् *lūth*, plunder.लूठर् *lūth^{ar}*, a plunderer.ब्रम् *bram*, delusion.ब्रम् *bram^{ar}*, a deluder.

Irregular is,—

लूब् *lūb*, covetousness.लूठर् *lūth^{ar}*, a coveter.

[Others write these words रंगुर् *rangur^a*, खनुर् *sonur^a*, &c. Thus making the termination उर् *ur^a*, not र् *r*].

39. गर् *gar^a*, (masc.), fem. गृ *gar^a*, used to signify a profession relating to anything sold (ix. ii. 88, 89). Thus,—

लायगर् *lāḡgar^a*, (लाय *lāḡ* is fem. pl.), a seller of parched grain.

गंडनगर् *gaṇḍangar^a*, a book binder.

कंगजगर् *kaṅgañ^a*-(plur.)-*gar^a*, a comb-seller.

मंडनगर् *maṇḍangar^a*, a man who kneads cloth in water (to soften it).

This is not used with words which have other forms, like खनुर् *son^{ar}*, in preceding list.

From दाञ्ज *dāñḡ*, paddy, we have, irregularly, दाँगर् *dāḡgar^a*, a paddy seller, *vide ante*, p. 70.

40. युम् *yum^a*, fem. इम् *im^a*, used to form ordinals (iv. 114.)

अख् *ākḥ*, one.

अक्युम् *akyum^a*, fem. अकिम् *akim^a*, first.

दह् *dah*, ten.

दह्युम् *dahyum^a*, fem. दहिम् *dahim^a*, tenth.

वुह् *wuh*, twenty.

वुह्युम् *wuhyum^a*, twentieth.

हथ् *hāth*, a hundred.

हत्युम् *hatyum^a*, hundredth.

सास् *sās*, a thousand.

सास्युम् *sāsyum^a*, thousandth.

कच् *kats^a* (masc.) } , how many? कच्युम् *katsyum^a*, fem. कत्रिम् *katsim^a*, which out of many?

कत्र *kats^a* (fem.) } , (plur.)

यीनि *yīiⁱ* (masc. plur.), how many.

यीत्युम् *yītyum^a*, fem. यीतिम् *yītim^a*, which out of many.

तीति *tīti*, that many.

तीत्युम् *tītyum*^u, fem. तीतिम् *tītim*^u,
that out of many.

इति *yīti*ⁱ, this many.

इत्युम् *yītyum*^u, fem. इतिम् *yītim*^u,
this out of many.

41. इ ⁱ, fem. इ ⁱ, denotes place of origin (iv. 117). Thus,—

सोवपोर् *sōvpōr*, Sopor, name
of a town.

सोवपूरि नाव् *sōvpūrī nāv*, a boat of
Sopor; fem. सोवपोरि *sōvpōri*.

ईरान् *yīrān* Persia.

ईरानि गुर् *yīrānī gur*^u, a Persian
horse; fem. ईरानि *yīrāni*.

चीन् *cīn*, China.

चीनि खोस् *cīnī khōs*^u, a China cup;
fem. चीनि *cīni*.

हिन्दुस्तान् *hindustān*, India.

हिन्दुस्तानि कपुर् *hindustānī kapur*,
Indian cloth; fem. हिन्दुस्तानि
hindustāni.

42. उर् *ur*^u, used as follows (iv. 118).

काशीर् *kaçīr* (fem.), Kash-
mir.

काश्चुर् कंग् *kāçur^u kōγγ* Kashmīrī
saffron.

So काश्चुर् पश्मीन् *kāçur^u paçmīn^a*, Kashmīrī *pashmeena*; काश्चिर् कट् *kāçir^u kōṭh* (fem.), *aucklandia costus* from Kashmīr.

43. उक् *uk*^u, fem. चू *c^u*. This is used to signify origin, either in place or time. If उक् *uk*^u is preceded by य् *y*, युक् *yuk*^u becomes *ic^u* in the feminine. It is really one of the genitive particles (p. 37) (iv. 119, 120).

कति *kati*, where?

कत्युक् *katyuk*^u, fem. कतिचू *katic^u*, of
where?

तति *tati*, there.

तत्युक् *tatyuk*^u, fem. ततिचू *tatic^u*, of
there.

इति *yiti*, here.

इत्युक् *yityuk*^u, fem. इतिचू *yitic^u*, of
here.

यति *yati*, where.

यत्युक् *yatyuk*^u, fem. यतिचू *yatic^u*,
of where.

ऊति *huti*, here.

ऊत्युक् *hutyuk*^u, fem. ऊतिचू *hutic^u*, of
here.

कर् <i>kar</i> , when.	करकु <i>karuk</i> ^u , fem. करचू <i>karac</i> ^u , of what time.
गर <i>gar</i> ^a , a house.	गरकु <i>garuk</i> ^u , fem. गरचू <i>garac</i> ^u , domestic.
राथ् <i>rāth</i> , yesterday.	रातुकु <i>rātuk</i> ^u , fem. रातचू <i>rātac</i> ^u , of yesterday.
परसु <i>parus</i> ^u , the day before yesterday.	परसुकु <i>par^asuk</i> ^u , fem. परसचू <i>par^asac</i> ^u , of the day before yesterday.
दक्षुन् <i>dachyun</i> ^u , south.	दक्षिन्युकु <i>dachⁱnyuk</i> ^u , of the south.
खोवुर् <i>khōwur</i> ^u , north.	खोवर्ष्युकु <i>khōw^aryuk</i> ^u , of the north.

The word अज् *az*, to-day, makes अज्युकु *azyuk*^u, of to-day.

44. युम् *yum*^u (or इम्), fem. इम् *im*^u. This termination is added to the post-position पारि *pārⁱ*, beyond (cf. No. 70). When phrases like कमि पारि *kami pārⁱ* occur, the मि *mi* of the pronoun is elided when this suffix is added (iv. 120). Thus,—

पारि <i>pārⁱ</i> , beyond.	पार्थुम् <i>pāryum</i> ^u , fem. पारिम् <i>pārⁱm</i> ^u , born in the country beyond (the hills). May also be written पारिस् and so throughout.
कमिपारि <i>kamipārⁱ</i> , in what direction.	कपार्थुम् <i>kapāryum</i> ^u , of what direction.
तमिपारि <i>tamipārⁱ</i> , in that direction.	तपार्थुम् <i>tapāryum</i> ^u , of that direction.
यमिपारि <i>yamipārⁱ</i> , in what direction.	यपार्थुम् <i>yapāryum</i> ^u , of what direction.
ऊमिपारि <i>humipārⁱ</i> , beyond that.	ऊपार्थुम् <i>hupāryum</i> ^u , of over there.
इमिपारि <i>yimipārⁱ</i> , in this direction.	इपार्थुम् <i>yipāryum</i> ^u , of this direction.
अमिपारि <i>amipārⁱ</i> , in that (visible) direction.	अपार्थुम् <i>apāryum</i> ^u , of that direction.

So also we have,—

ब्रौंत् *brōñh*, in front.

पथ् *pāth*, behind.

ह्युर् *hyūr*^u, above.

प्यथ् *pyāth*, above.

तल् *tal*, below.

ब्वन् *bōn*, below.

अन्दर् *andar*, within.

न्यवर् *nyavar*, outside.

मन्न् *manz*, in.

ब्रौंत् *brōñhyum*^u, of the front.

पत्युम् *patyum*^u, of the rear.

ह्योर्युम् *hryum*^u, of above.

प्यथ्युम् *pēthyum*^u, of above.

तल्ल्युम् *talyum*^u, of below.

ब्वन्युम् *bōnyum*^u, of below.

अन्दर्युम् *andar-yum*^u, of within.

न्यवर्युम् *nyavar-yum*^u, of outside.

मन्ड्युम् *manzyum*^u, internal (Cf.

Nos. 8 and 22).

45. खल्लु *khyal*^u, fem. ख्यल्लु *khēj*^u, signifies multitude (iv. 121).

गाव् *gāv*, a cow.

गोवखल्लु *gōv^ukhyal*^u, a herd of cows. *Vide ante*, p. 67.

गुर् *gur*^u, a horse.

गुरिखल्लु *gurⁱkhyal*^u, a troop of horse.

गुपन् *gupan*, cattle.

गुपन्खल्लु *gupankhyal*^u, a herd of cattle.

त्यूर् *tyūr*^u, a ram.

तीरिखल्लु *tirⁱkhyal*^u, a herd of rams.

जनान *zanān*^a, a woman.

जनानखल्लु *zanān^akhyal*^u, a group of women.

महन्पुव् *mahanyuv*^u, a man.

महनिविखल्लु *mahanivⁱkhyal*^u, a crowd of men.

It will be observed that the termination is added to the Nominative Plural.

46. अय् *ay*, used as follows (iv. 122).

लूक् *lūkh*, people.

लूक्य् *lūkay*, a crowd of people.

47. उन् *un*^u, fem. अन् *ñ*, the genitive termination. It is used to form adjectives also (iv. 123). Thus,—

पान् *pān*^a, self.

पनुन् *panun*^u, fem. पनञ् *panañ*, own.

Note that in this word the long vowel of the base is shortened.

48. उद् *ud^u*, fem. जू *ju^u*. This is used as follows (iv. 124).

पर *par*, another.

परुद् *parud^u*, fem. परजू *paraz^u*,
another's.

49. थ *th^a*, used to form **adverbs of manner** (iv. 125), with elision of a preceding ह *h* (iv. 131). So also in other cases. Thus,—

तिह् *tih*, that.

तिय *tith^a*, in that manner.

यिह् *yih*, who.

यिय *yith^a*, how.

क्याह् *kyāh*, what?

क्यथ *kyath^a*, how? (vowel shortened, iv. 129).

इह् *yih*, this.

इय *yith^a*, thus.

ऊह् *huh*, thus.

ऊय *huth^a*, in that manner.

50. थ् *th^u*, fem. ह् *tsh^u*, forming **adjectives of manner** (iv. 126).

Thus,—

तिथ् *tyuth^u*, fem. तिह् *tith^u*, of that kind.

यिथ् *yyuth^u*, fem. यिह् *yith^u*, of what kind.

किथ् *kyuth^u*, fem. किह् *kitsh^u*, of what kind?

इथ् *yuth^u*, fem. इह् *yith^u*, of this kind.

ऊथ् *huth^u*, fem. ऊह् *huth^u*, of that kind.

51. पाठि *pāthⁱ* or पाठिन् *pāthⁱⁿ*, used pleonastically after adverbs of manner, and similarly after other words (iv. 127, 128, 129). Thus,—

तियपाठि *tith^apāthⁱ*, in that way.

यियपाठि *yith^apāthⁱ*, how.

क्यथपाठि *kyath^apāthⁱ*, how?

इयपाठि *yith^apāthⁱ*, thus.

ऊयपाठि *huth^apāthⁱ*, in that way.

So also तियपाठिन् *tith^apāthⁱⁿ*, &c.

So also we have,—

बिय *biy^a*, other.

बियपाठिन् *biy^apāthⁱⁿ*, otherwise.

सोरय् *sōruy*, all.

सारियपाठि *sāriy^apāthⁱ*, in every way.

हल्ल *hal^u*, crooked.

हल्लिपाठि *halⁱpāthⁱ*, crookedly.

In the same way the termination can be added to the genitive of any noun.

E.g., तसँदि पठि *tasandī pāṭhī*, like that.

गुरि सँदि पठि *gurī sandī pāṭhī*, like the horse.

So also we have phrases like कथतऱ्ज्पठि *kyath^a-tāñ-pāṭhī*, in any manner. तऱ्ज् *tāñ*=Skr., अपि *api*.

52. रंग *rang^a*, used to form adverbs of manner as follows (iv. 130).

तमिरंग *tamirang^a*, in that manner.

यमिरंग *yamirang^a*, how.

कमिरंग *kamirang^a*, how ?

इमिरंग *yimirang^a*, thus.

ऊमिरंग *humirang^a*, in that manner.

अमिरंग *amirang^a*, in that manner.

अकिरंग *akirang^a*, in one manner (from अक् *ākḥ*, one).

द्वयरंग *dwayirang^a*, in two ways (from ज्ह *z^h*, two).

त्रयरंग *trēyarang^a*, in three ways (from त्रिह् *trih*, three).

सारिरंग *sārirang^a*, in every way (from सोर् *sōr^u*, all).

यत्तिरंग *yatsirang^a*, in many ways (from यच् *yats^u*, very).

सिठाहिरंग *sithāhirang^a*, in many ways (from सिठाह् *sithāḥ*, very).

53. इⁱ, to form adverbs of place from pronominal bases (iv. 132). Thus,—

तति *tatiⁱ*, there.

यति *yatiⁱ*, where.

कति *katiⁱ*, where ?

इति *yitiⁱ*, here.

ऊति *hutiⁱ*, there.

अति *atiⁱ*, there.

So also we have (iv. 155), formed from words which are not pronominal bases,—

ब्रौठ् *brōṭh*, before.

ब्रूठि *brūṭhī*, in front.

पथ् *pāṭh* behind.

प्रति *pāṭhī*, in behind.

खोवुर^३ *khōwur³*, left.खोवुरि *khōwur³i* (p. 53), on the left.दछुनु *dachy^३nu*, right.दछिनि *dachin³i* (p. 54), on the right.तल^३ *tal³*, below.तलि *tal³i*, below.पय^३ *pyāth³*, above.पयि *pyāth³i*, above.

54. अन *an*, अनी *anī*, अनस् *anas*, अनन् *anan*, added pleonastically to the adverbs of place mentioned in No. 53 (iv. 133, 135). Thus,—

कत्यन् *katyan*, कत्यनी *katyanī*, कत्यनस् *katyanas*, or कत्यनन् *katyanan*, where ?

तत्यन् *tatyan*, तत्यनी *tatyanī*, तत्यनस् *tatyanas*, or तत्यनन् *tatyanan*, there.

यत्यन् *yatyan*, यत्यनी *yatyanī*, यत्यनस् *yatyanas*, or यत्यनन् *yatyanan*, where.

अत्यन् *atyan*, अत्यनी *atyanī*, अत्यनस् *atyanas*, or अत्यनन् *atyanan*, there, &c.

55. इ *i*, to form adverbs of motion from (iv. 132). Thus,—

तति *tati*, from there, thence.

यति *yati*, from where, whence.

कति *kati*, from where ? whence ?

इति *yiti*, hence.

ऊति *huti*, thence.

अति *ati*, thence.

56. पय^३ *pyāth³*, added pleonastically to the adverbs of motion from, mentioned in No. 55 (iv. 134). Thus,—

ततिपय^३ *tatipyāth³*, thence.

यतिपय^३ *yatipyāth³*, whence.

कतिपय^३ *katipyāth³*, whence ?

इतिपय^३ *yitipyāth³*, hence.

ऊतिपय^३ *hutipyāth³*, thence.

This is merely the post-position of the ablative. Cf. Hindūstāni कहाँ से *kahā̃ sē*.

57. ओर् *ōr* used to form adverbs of place as follows (iv. 136).

तोर् *tōr* there; योर् *yōr*, where; कोर् *kōr*, where ? योर् *yōr*, here

होर् *hōr*, there; ओर् *ōr*, there.

When the suffix य् *y*, even, is added, ओ *ō* becomes ऊ *ū*. Thus,—
तूर्य् *tūry*, even there; यूर्य् *yūry*, even where; कूर्य् *kūry*, even where? यूर्य् *yūry*, even here; ऊर्य् *ūry*, even there.

58. तु *tū*, or तुय् *tuth*, used to form adverbs of place (iv. 136).
Thus,—

तत् *tat* or ततुय् *tatuth*, there; यत् *yat* or यतुय् *yatuth*, where; कत् *kat* or कतुय् *katuth*, where? इत् *yit* or इतुय् *yituth*, here; हुत् *hut* or हुतुय् *hututh*, there; अत् *at*, or अतुय् *atuth*, there.

With emphatic य् *y*, these become, ततुय् *tatuy*, ततुयूय् *tatuthūy*, even here; यतुय् *yatuy* or यतुयूय् *yatuthūy*, even where, and so on (p. 88).

59. ओर *ōra*, used to make adverbs of motion from (iv. 137).
Thus,—

तोर *tōra*, thence; योर *yōra*, whence; कोर *kōra*, whence? योर *yōra*, hence; होर *hōra*, thence; ओर *ōra*, thence.

60. अलि *ali* or अलि *ālī*, used to make adverbs of time (iv. 138).
Thus,—

तलि *tēli*, or तलि *tēlī*, then; यलि *yēli* or यलि *yēlī*, when; कलि *kēli* or कलि *kēlī*, when?

This termination is not used with other pronouns. The word for 'now' is वञ् *wōñ*. 'Even now' is वुञ् *wuñ* (iv. 139). 'When?' is also कर् *kar* (iv. 140).

61. इ *i*, or इ *i*, used to form adverbs of time (iv. 141, 143).
It is really the case of the agent, sometimes masc., and sometimes (to agree with विजि *wizi* understood) fem. Thus,—

From—

रातुल् *rātul*, night time.

रातलि *rātali*, by night.

We also have रात्किन् *rātkyut*, with the dative post-position (iv. 142).

दहल् *dōhul*, day time.

दहलि *dōhali*, by day.

न्याहफल् *nyahaphāl*, break of dawn.

न्याहफलि *nyahaphāli*, at daybreak.

सुल् *sul*, earliness.

सुलि *suli*, early.

यच्काल् *yats^wkāl*, delay.यच्कालि *yats^wkālⁱ*, late.काल् *kāl*, time.कालि *kālⁱ*, at the (right) time.

We have also कालिक्वय् *kālⁱkyāth*, the day after to-morrow. क्वय् *kyāth* is the sign of the Locative. Again ततिकालिक्वय् *tatikālⁱkyāth*, two days after to-morrow.

विज् *wiz^w*, time, takes this suffix, which is in this case, clearly the agent singular, in the following phrases.

कमिविजि *kamiwizi*, when ? तमिविजि *tamiwizi*, then ; यमिविजि *yamiwizi*, when ; &c.

62. स् *s*, used to form adverbs of time in the following. It is really the accusative singular (iv. 144).

कोज् *kōj^w*, the forenoon meal.काजिस् *kājis*, at the time of the forenoon meal.मिम्युज् *mimyu^w*, the after-noon meal.मिमिजिस् *mimizis*, at the time of the afternoon meal.

63. अन् *an*, used to form adverbs of time, especially with regard to the divisions of the day (iv. 145).

मन्दिज् *mandyūñ^w*, midday.मन्दिजान् *mandiñan* at midday.दुपहर् *dupahar*, midday.दुपहरन् *dupaharan*, at midday.कालचन् *kālacan*, evening.कालचनन् *kālacanan*, at evening.बतन्यग् *batanyag*, the time of the night meal.बतन्यगन् *batanyanggan*, at the time of the night meal.बतदब् *batadab*, the time of going to bed after the night meal.बतदबन् *batadaban*, at bed time.अड्राथ् *adrāth*, midnight.अड्रातन् *adrātan*, at midnight.पत्युमपहर् *patyūm^wpahar*, the last watch of the night.पतिस्पहरन् *patimpaharan*, in the last watch of the night.

We even find this with foreign words, as,—

सुबह् *sub^{ah}*, morning.सुबहन् *sub^{ah}an*, at morn.शस् *śām*, evening.शमन् *śāman*, at eve.

64. अ *a*, used to signify distribution, with the prefix प्रथ् *prāth* (iv. 146). Thus,—

दह् *dōh*, a day.प्रथदह् *prāthdōh^a*, day by day.

(Also दृह *dōh^a*, day by day, iv. 147).

पहर *pahar*, a watch.

प्रथपहर *prāthpahar^a*, at each watch.

वरिह्य *warihy*, a year.

प्रथवरिह्य *prāthwarihy^a*, yearly.

प्रथ *prāth*, also simply governs the accusative.

Thus,—

अक् *āk^h*, one.

प्रथ अकिस् *prāth akis*, one by one.

विज् *wiz^u*, time.

प्रथ विजि *prāth wizi*, each time.

महनिव *mahanyuv^a*, a man.

प्रथ महनिविस् *prāth mahanivis*, man by man.

जनान *zanān^a*, a woman.

प्रथ जनानि *prāth zanāni*, woman by woman.

When य् *y*, even, is added to the phrase प्रथदृह *prāthdōh^a*, the प्रथ *prāth* is always dropped. Thus, always, दृहय् *dōhay*, even day by day (iv. 148). प्रथदृहय् *prāthdōhay*, is not used.

65. पथ् *pāth*, is also used to signify distribution, as follows (iv. 149).

दृहपथ् *dōhapāth dōh^a*, day by day.

वरिह्यपथ् *warihyapāth warihy^a*, year by year.

जनिपथ् *zanipāth zani*, person by person.

66. उस् *us*, used as follows (iv. 150, 151, 152).

इह् *yih*, this.

इहस् *yihus*, this year.

ब्रौढ् *brōṭh*, before.

ब्रौढस् *brōṭhus*, next year.

पथ् *pāth*, behind.

परस् *parus*, last year (with change of *t* to *r*).

प्रोस् *prōr^a*, belonging to the year before last.

प्रोयस् *prōryus*, in the year before last.

67. किनि *kinⁱ*, used to form adverbs of direction from (iv. 153); added to No. 55. Thus,—

ततिकिनि *tatikinⁱ*, thence; यतिकिनि *yatikinⁱ*, whence; कतिकिनि

katikinⁱ, whence? इतिकिनि *yitikinⁱ*, hence; हुतिकिनि *hutikinⁱ*, thence.

ब्रौढ् *brōṭh*, before.

ब्रौढकिनि *brōṭhⁱkinⁱ*, from before.

पथ् *pāth*, behind.

पथिकिनि *patⁱkinⁱ*, from behind.

दक्षुन् *dachyun^u*, right.

दक्षिणकिणि *dachinⁱkinⁱ*, from the right.

खोवुर् *khōwur^u*, left.

खोवूरकिणि *khōwurⁱkinⁱ*, from the left.

तल् *tal*, below.

तल्लिकिणि *talⁱkinⁱ*, from below.

प्यट् *pyāṭh*, above.

प्यटिकिणि *pṛṭhⁱkinⁱ*, from above.

68. कनि *kani*, used to form adverbs of direction from (iv. 153), with No. 59. तोरकनि *tōrakani*, from there; योरकनि *yōrakani*, from where; कोरकनि *kōrakani*, whence? होरकनि *hōrakani* or ओरकनि *ōrakani*, thence.

So also we have, signifying cause,—

तमिकनि *tamikani* or तवकनि *tawakani*, for that reason.

यमिकनि *yamikani* or यवकनि *yawakani*, for what reason.

कमिकनि *kamikani* or कवकनि *kawakani*, for what reason?

इमिकनि *yimikani* or इवकनि *yivakani*, for this reason.

ऊमिकनि *humikani* (not ऊवकनि *huwakani*), for that reason.

अमिकनि *amikani* or अवकनि *awakani*, for that reason.

It is also used with words of time to signify uncertainty (iv. 154). Thus,—

अज्कनि *azkani*, perhaps to-day; पगाह्कनि *pagāhkani*, perhaps to-morrow; कालिक्थकनि *kālⁱkyāṭhkani*, (see No. 61), about the day after to-morrow; ऊवकनि *ūtrakani*, about the day before yesterday; दहम्कनि *dahumkani*, about the tenth (lunar) day; हारकनि *hārakani*, about *aṣāḍha*.

69. पत *pat^a*, used to form adverbs of time after (iv. 153). Thus,—

तमिपत *tamipat^a*, after then.

तवपत *tawapat^a*, after then, and so on, as in No. 68.

70. पारि *pārⁱ*, to indicate direction from or in (iv. 156). Cf. No. 44). Thus,—

कमिपारि *kamipārⁱ* or कपारि *kapārⁱ*, in or from what direction?

तमिपारि *tamipārⁱ*, or तपारि *apārⁱ*, in or from that direction.

यमिपा॑रि *yamipārⁱ*, or यपा॑रि *yapārⁱ*, in or from what direction.

इमिपा॑रि *yimipārⁱ* or इपा॑रि *yipārⁱ*, in or from this direction.

ऊमिपा॑रि *humipārⁱ* or ऊपा॑रि *hupārⁱ*, in or from that direction.

अमिपा॑रि *amipārⁱ* or अपा॑रि *apārⁱ*, in or from that direction.

And so on. So also,—

दक्षि॑न्पा॒रि *dachinⁱpārⁱ*, from or on the right; खोव॑रिपा॒रि *khōw^rpārⁱ*, from or on the left; ब्रू॒ढिपा॑रि *brūṭhⁱpārⁱ*, in or from the front; पति॑न्पा॒रि *patimⁱpārⁱ*, in or from behind.

From चो॒र *tsōr*, four, we have चपा॑रि *tsōpārⁱ* or चवापा॑रि *tsōwāpārⁱ*, in or from all round, i.e., all four directions.

But चो॒रिपा॑रि *tsōripārⁱ*, in or from four directions only (iv. 157). As usual these nouns take the case of the agent.

71. कुन् *kun*, added to adverbs of place to signify direction (iv. 158). Thus (No. 57), तो॒कुन् *tōrkun*, in that direction; यो॒कुन् *yōrkun*, in what direction; को॒कुन् *kōrkun*, in what direction? यो॒कुन् *yōrkun*, in this direction; हो॒कुन् *hōrkun*, in that direction; ओ॒कुन् *ōrkun*, in that direction.

तू॒र्यकुन् *turykun*, even in that direction; यू॒र्यकुन् *yūrykun*, even in what direction.

Again (No. 58), त॒तुकुन् *tāt^ukun*, in that direction; य॒तुकुन् *yāt^ukun*, and so on.

In these last the final तु *t^u* of the first element may be changed to थ *th*. Thus,—

तथ॑कुन् *tathkun*, in that direction; यथ॑कुन् *yathkun*, in what direction; कथ॑कुन् *kathkun*, in what direction? इथ॑कुन् *yithkun*, in this direction; ऊथ॑कुन् *huthkun*, in that direction; अथ॑कुन् *athkun*, in that direction. With emphatic य् *y* we get, तय्य॑कुन् *tathykun*, even in that direction; यय्य॑कुन् *yathykun*, even in what direction, and so on.

Similarly we have,—

गास् *gām*, a village.

गास्कुन् *gāmkun*, in the direction of the village.

गर *gar^u*, a house.

गरकुन् *garakun*, in the direction of the house.

कल् *kāl*, (fem.), a river.

वार् *wār*^u, a garden.

ह्यर् *hyar*^u, ह्यर् *hyur*^u, or

ह्यूर् *hyūr*^u, above.

बन् *bōn*, below.

कलिकुन् *kōlikun*, towards the river.

वारिकुन् *wārikun*, towards the garden.

ह्यर्कुन् *hyar^ukun*, ह्यर्कुन् *hyur^ukun*, or ह्यूर्कुन् *hyūr^ukun*, towards above.

बन्कुन् *bōnkun*, towards below.

The suffix can also be used as a post-position added to the accusative. Thus,—

माल् *māl*^u, a father.

माज् *māj*^u, a mother.

मालिस् कुन् *mālis kun*, towards the father.

माज् कुन् *mājē kun*, towards the mother.

So तमिस् कुन् *tamis kun*, towards him; यमिस् कुन् *yamis kun*, towards whom.

72. उव् *uv*^u, (fem. अव् *av*^u), signifies **composed of** (iv. 159). Thus,—

सन् *sōn*, gold.

मत्स् *mēts*^u, earth.

काट् *kāṭh*, wood.

सनुव् *sōnuv*^u, fem. सन्व् *sonav*^u, made of gold.

मत्स्युव् *mētsyuv*^u, fem. मत्स्यव् *mētsyav*^u made of earth.

काटुव् *kāṭhuv*^u, made of wood.

In all the above, the suffix is added to the form of the agent, but a final *a* is elided.

73. बुज् *buzy*, fem. the same, signifies **dependent on** (iv. 160). Thus,—

लूक् *lūk*, people.

खड् *khōḍ*, a hollow.

कलय् *kōlay*, a wife.

लूकबुज् *lūkabuzy*, dependent on people; belonging to other people.

खडबुज् *khōḍabuzy*, dependent on a hollow; i.e., buried in the ground.

कलयबुज् *kōlayabuzy*, dependent on a wife; having only one relation,—his wife.

74. लक *lyak^u*, fem. लच् *lēc^u*, used with अद् *aḍ*, half, as follows (iv. 161).

अडलक *adalyak^u*, incomplete : e.g.

अडलच् कोम् *aḍlēc^u kōm*, an incomplete action.

अडलच् लह् *aḍalēc^u laḥ*, an incomplete house.

75. रिङ् *ring*, used as follows (iv. 162) to make diminutives.

अब् *āb^{er}*, a cloud.

अब् ररिङ् *āb^{er}aring*, a slight cloud.

दह् *dāh*, smoke.

दह् रिङ् *dāharing*, a slight cloud of smoke.

वाव् *wāw*, wind.

वाव रिङ् *wāwaring*, a little wind.

76. लथ् *lath*, (fem.), used to form diminutives of words signifying breath or light (iv. 163). Thus,—

प्राण् *prāṇ*, life.

प्राणलथ् *prāṇalath*, a spark of life.

शाह् *ṣāh*, breath.

शाहलथ् *ṣāhalath*, a trace of breath.

गाग् *gāg*, light.

गागलथ् *gāgalath*, a very little light.

त्सोङ् *tsōg^u*, a lamp.

त्सोङ्गिलथ् *tsōg^ulath*, a little lamp.

The final थ् *th* becomes त् *t* in declension. Thus, acc. sg. प्राणलन्ति *prāṇal^{ti}* (not प्राणलच् *prāṇal^{ts}*).

77. तर् *t^{ar}* (fem.), used to form diminutives of words meaning cloths (iv. 164).

कपुर् *kapur*, cotton cloth.

कपर्तर् *kapart^{ar}*, a piece of cloth.

पट् *paṭ^u*, woollen cloth.

पटितर् *paṭit^{ar}*.

78. हल् *chal* (fem.), used to form diminutives, especially of clothes (iv. 165).

कपुर् *kapur*, cotton cloth.

कपर्हल् *kaparchal*, a piece of cotton cloth.

चट् *ṣṭ^u*, a cake.

च्यहल् *ṣṭōcchal*, a piece of cake.

बुर्ज् *burja*, a *bhurja* leaf.

बुर्जहल् *burjachal*, a piece of *bhurja* leaf.

पट् *paṭ^u*, a tablet.

प्यहल् *pacchal*, a piece of board.

कृष्णाम् *kṛṣṇamāz*, the liver.

कृष्णाम्हल् *kṛṣṇamāz chal*, a piece of liver.

79. तिलिस् *tilim*, also forms similar **diminutives** (iv. 165).

Thus कपर्तिलिस् *kapartilim*; चषतिलिस् *tsöcčtilim*; बुर्जतिलिस् *burjatilim*, &c.

It is smaller than a thing formed with No. 78.

80. रेम्प् *rēmph* (fem.) (*vide ante*, p. 62), used to form **diminutives**, and in **pity** (iv. 166). Thus,—

गुर् *gur^u*, a boy.

गुरिरेम्प् *gurⁱrēmph*, a poor little boy.

गुर् *gur^u*, a horse.

गुरिरेम्प् *gurⁱrēmph*, a poor little horse.

महनिव् *mahanyuv^u*, a man.

महनिविरेम्प् *mahanivⁱrēmph*, a poor man.

चूँट् *tsūtht^h*, an apple.

चूँटिरेम्प् *tsūthtⁱrēmph*, a little apple.

81. रेँश् *rē^{ts}h* (fem.), indicates **connexion**, including the idea of **partition** (iv. 167). Thus,—

कपुर् *kapur*, cotton cloth; कपर्रेँश् *kaparrē^{ts}h*, a piece of cloth.

मातामाल् रेँश् च्छ् *mātāmāl^{rē^{ts}h} chē^h*, there is some slight relation-ship with his maternal grandfather.

82. जंङ् *zand* (masc.), added to words signifying vegetables or wood, to signify a **little** (iv. 168). Thus,—

हाक् *hāk^h*, spinach.

हाकजंङ् *hākazand*, a little spinach.

काट् *kā^ht^h*, wood.

काटजंङ् *kā^ht^hazand*, a little wood.

पोष् *pō^s*, a flower.

पोषजंङ् *pō^sazand*, a few flowers.

ज्युन् *zyun^u*, firewood.

जिनिजंङ् *zinⁱzand*, a little firewood.

स्युन् *syun^u*, vegetables, meat, &c., (eaten with rice).

सिनिजंङ् *sinⁱzand*, a few vegetables (not meat. If meat is included in the idea, *zand* cannot be used).

मुजि *mujⁱ*, a radish (Of. No. 32 *ante*).

मुज्जंङ् *muj^jezand*, a few radishes.

83. काँश् *kāⁿ* (fem.), used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus,—

हाककाँश् *hākakāⁿ*, a little spinach; काटकाँश् *kā^ht^hakāⁿ*, a little wood; पोषकाँश् *pō^sakāⁿ*, a few flowers; so जिनिकाँश् *zinⁱkāⁿ*; सिनिकाँश् *sinⁱkāⁿ*; मुज्जकाँश् *muj^jekāⁿ*.

84. तुलु *tul^u* (masc.), also used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus;—हाकतुलु *hākatul^u*, a little spinach; काठतुलु *kāthatul^u*, a little wood; पोषतुलु *pōṣatul^u*, a few flowers. So जिनितुलु *zinⁱtul^u*; सिनितुलु *sinⁱtul^u*; मुजुतुलु *mujētul^u*.

We may also add आ *ā* (iv. 170). Thus हाकतुलुआ *hākatulwā*, a little spinach.

85. थोपु *thōp^u* (masc.), also used in the same way as No. 82 (iv. 168). Thus,—

हाकथोपु *hākathōp^u*; काठथोपु *kāthathōp^u*; पोषथोपु *pōṣathōp^u*; जिनिथोपु *zinⁱthōp^u*; सिनिथोपु *sinⁱthōp^u*; मुजुथोपु *mujēthōp^u*.

86. फलु *phal^u*, used to signify a little more especially of any kind of grain (iv. 169). Thus,—

दाङ्ग *dāṅṅ*, paddy.

दाँफलु *dāṅṅphal^u*, a little paddy.

Vide ante, p. 70.

लमुलु *tōmul*, rice.

लमुलुफलु *tōm^ulaphal^u*, a little rice.

कर *kar^a*, peas.

करफलु *karaphal^u*, a few peas.

मंग *mōṅg*, mung.

मंगफलु *mōṅgaphal^u*, a little mung.

So also,—

जुलु *ts^an*, charcoal.

जुलुफलु *ts^anēphal^u*, a little charcoal.

बटु *baṭh^u*, cowdung fuel.

बटुफलु *baṭh^uphal^u*, a little cowdung fuel.

मैलु *mēt^u*, earth.

मैलुफलु *mēt^uēphal^u*, a little earth.

फलु *phal^u*, in the plural, means 'grains,' and is not used as a diminutive. Thus,—

दाँफलु *dāṅṅphalⁱ*, grains of paddy; लमुलुफलु *tōm^ulaphalⁱ*, grains of rice, &c.

आ *ā* may be added to फलु *phal^u*. Thus (iv. 170) बतफलुआ *bataphalwā*, a little boiled rice.

87. म्यु *mōy* or म्युआ *mōyā*, may be used to form diminutives with any of the words mentioned in Nos. 75 to 86, except kinds of wood and grain (Nos. 82 and 86) (iv. 170). Thus;—

अब्रम्यु *ab^aramōy* or अब्रम्युआ *ab^aramōyā*, a small cloud; दुहम्यु *d^ahamōyā*, slight smoke; वावम्यु *wāvamōyā*, slight wind; हाकम्यु *hākamōyā*,

hākamöyā, a little spinach (only used of cooked spinach. *हाकतुला* *hākatulā* (cf. 84) means both cooked and uncooked); *पोषम्वया* *pōṣamöyā*, a few flowers; *त्सन्म्वया* *tsāñmōyā*, a little charcoal; *म्यत्सम्वया* *mētsāmōyā*, a little earth; *बतम्वया* *batamōyā*, a little boiled grain.

88. *हन्* *han* or *हना* *hanā*, used exactly like No. 87 (iv. 170). Thus,—

अब्रहन् *ab^arahan* or *अब्रहना* *ab^arahanā*, and so on.

89. *बल्* *bal*, is added to any word to indicate the presence of water, or a place for offering sacrifices to minor deities or spirits (iv. 171, 172, 173). Thus we have.

व्यथबल् *vyathabal*, wherever the water of the Jhelam flows. *E.g.*, (to a man going to bathe) *त्सु कतु गच्छ?* *व्यथबल्* *ts^ah kat^u gatshakh?* *vyathabal*. Where are you going? (Answer) to *vyathabal*, i.e., to bathe in the Jhelam.

So *गंगबल्* *gāṅgabāl*, name of a well-known bathing place. *मांरबल्* *mār^ubal*, *vide ante*, p. 67, the water of the river Mār. *पखरिवल्* *pōkharibal*, a tank (with water in it), name of a well-known tank. *क्रीरिवल्* *krirⁱbal*, a well; *आवरिजबल्* *āvarinēbal*, a place where a funeral pyre is set up (always on the bank of a river); *शिम्शानबल्* *ṣimṣānabal*, a burning ghat, (always on the bank of a river).

सबबल् *sababal*, a place where a wedding dinner party is carried on *वुरबल्* *wurabal*, the place where the cooking fires (*wur*) for a bridegroom's party are used; *कोदबल्* *kōḍabal*, a brick or potter's kiln; *राजबल्* *rāzabal*, a burning *ghāt* (*rāz* is the superintendent of a burning *ghāt*. Hence, here used for a *ghāt*). *ग्रटबल्* *gratabāl*, the site of a Persian wheel. *यारबल्* *yārabal*, the place where water (Skr. *वारि* *vāri*.) is offered to ancestors; i.e., according to Kāçmīrī custom, a bathing place.

An Account of Travels on the Shores of Lake Yamdo-Croft.—By SARAT
CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E., RAI BAHADUR.

[Read February, 1897.]

I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. EARLY ACCOUNTS OF LAKE PALTÍ.

In 1730, Orazio Della Penna, a Capuchin missionary, visited this great lake of Tibet and described it as follows :—

“The easternmost place is called Kambala, which is the name of a great mountain, on the slopes of which are many places, and in the plain at the foot to the south is a great lake called Iandro, which is eighteen days’ journey round, according to those who have made the circuit, but within are some hilly islands. The same lake has no outlet that I know of, and during a day and a half’s march round it, I can vouch that I saw none; while as regards the remaining portion, I have the authority of those who have made its circuit.”

This was the famous ring-like lake of Paltí, which has appeared in all maps since the days of D’Anville. The peculiar lake of Paltí, Piate, or Yam-dok-chu, with its great central island, like a large ring, first appeared on the map prepared by D’Anville, from the survey of the Lamas, under Jesuit instruction, which was published by Du-Halde in 1735. It has been repeated on all subsequent general maps. Giorgi, in his ‘*Alphabetum Tibetanum*’ (1762) says, that Palte lake, otherwise called Jang-so or Yam-dso, according to native report is of very great size, so that a man could not journey round it under eighteen days. It is three days’ journey from Lhasa. From the middle of the lake rises a continuous chain of hills and islands. On the southern side is a monastery, the abode of a great queen, who is born a second time, called Torcepano. She is honoured as a real goddess by the Indians and Nepalese, who worship her under the name of Bovani. The Tibetans believe a certain holy spirit is reborn in its divine essence in this hideous female, just as in the Grand Lama. Whenever she issues

from her house, or from the island, or journeys into the city of Lhasa, a procession precedes her. Mr. Bogle, it will be remembered, made the acquaintance of this female divinity; and Dr. Hamilton cured her of an illness, and visited her constantly:—

“The holidays at the new year drew nigh, and the Lama’s relations came from parts of the country to pay their respects to him. His cousin the Teshu-tzay Debo (Tashi-tse Deba), with his wife and family, his nieces, the two *annis* whom I saw at Teshu-tzay, their mother Chum Kusho; their true brothers, Pyn Kushos; and a half-sister Durjay Paumo (Dorje Phamo), a female Lama, who is abbess of monastery near the Piate Lake, and is animated by the spirit of a holy lady who died many hundred years ago. * * * *

“They stayed about two months at Teshu Lumbo, during which time Mr. Hamilton cured Durjay Paumo and Chum Kusho of complaints which they had long been subject to. * * * *

“The mother went with me into the apartment of Durjay Paumo, who was attired in a *Gylong’s* dress, her arms bare from the shoulders and sitting cross-legged upon a low cushion. She is also the daughter of the Lama’s brother, but by a different wife. She is about seven-and-twenty, with small Chinese features, delicate, though not regular, fine eyes and teeth; her complexion fair, but wan and sickly; and an expression of langour and melancholy in her countenance, which I believe, is occasioned by the joyless life that she leads. She wears her hair, a privilege granted to no other vestal I have seen; it is combed back without any ornaments, and falls in tresses upon her shoulders. Her *chamea*, like the Lama’s, is supposed to convey a blessing, and I did not fail to receive it. After making presents and obeisances, I kneeled down, and stretching out her arm, which is equal to “the finest lady in the land,” she laid her hand upon my head.”¹

Mr. Manning is the only Englishman who ever saw Lake Palti, and it appears from his narrative that he was not aware that the hills on the opposite shore formed an island. In his diary he wrote:—

“Pursuing our course, and gradually descending, the valley at length opened into a large stony plain, at the end of which stood a considerable town on the margin of an extensive lake, or little sea, as it is called. From the opposite or further margin of the lake rose diminutive mountains in a continued chain, which bounded the whole prospect in front.”

On the 1st of January 1866, the Pandit, trained and sent on his travels by Colonel Montgomerie arrived at the banks of the Palti or Yamdok-chu lake at a small post called Piahte-jong.

¹ *Markham’s Mission of George Boyle*, pp. 244 & 245.

He describes the breadth of the lake as varying from two to three miles, and says that it is reported to be very deep. In the centre of the lake there is a hill at the foot of which, are situated a number of villages. The circumference of the lake is about 45 miles; it is crossed in wicker boats covered with leather.

The Pandit rode along the banks from Piahte-jong to the village of Demalung, from which point the lake stretches to the south-east about 20 miles, and then turns west.

This is the Pandit's account of the lake, extracted from his diary. He further reported to Colonel Montgomerie, that he was informed that the lake encircled a large island, which rises into low, rounded hills, 2,000 or 3,000 feet high, and covered with grass to the top. Between the hills and the margin of the lake, several villages and a white monastery, were visible on the island. The Pandit was told that the lake had no outlet, but he says, its waters were perfectly fresh. Mr. Manning on the contrary says, in the text, that the water of the lake is very bad. The Pandit's observations make the lake 13,500 feet above the sea; and the island rises to 16,000 feet above the sea.

2. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF TIBET.

Tibet, to speak in the language of Captain Samuel Turner, strikes a traveller, at first sight, as one of the least favoured countries under heaven, and appears to be in a great measure incapable of culture. It exhibits only low rocky mountains, without any visible vegetation, or extensive arid plains, both of the most stern and stubborn aspect. Its climate is cold and bleak in the extreme, from the severe effects of which, the inhabitants are obliged to seek refuge in the sheltered valleys, and hollows, or amidst the warmest aspects of the rocks. Yet perhaps providence, in its impartial distribution of blessings, has bestowed on each country a tolerably equal share. The advantages that one possesses in fertility, and in richness of its forests and its fruits, are amply counterbalanced in the other by its multitudinous flocks and invaluable mines. As one seems to possess the pabulum of vegetable, in the other we find a superabundance of animal life. The variety and quantity of wild-fowl, game, and beasts of prey, flocks, droves and herds, in Tibet are astonishing.

The climate of the country north of the Himalayas within the distance of 60 miles, in a direct line from the Kanchanjunga, is extremely cold. The summits of the mountains within this zone remain covered with snow

Climate.

all through the year.¹ Owing to the high altitude and the rudeness of the winds which prevail there, the ground composed as it is of sand, gravel and loose stones, remains hard as if baked in winter. The climate and soil being alike inhospitable, in this part of the country, there is little habitation of men. The country is occupied by herdsmen and shepherds and also by *Kyang* (wild ass), wild sheep, antelopes, rabbits, wolves and other smaller wild animals. There are snow leopards but no tigers or snakes in Tibet. In the southern parts of Tibet are built cities and castles, and groves of poplar, willows, and stunted trees have been planted. The mountains are destitute of everything except grass and dwarf shrubs.

Sowing takes place in the beginning of May; the Tibetans gather

Products. little wheat, much barley which is their staple food, and some peas which they bruise and give to their horses and cattle. The latter crop is gathered in September. These harvests as well as that of rape from the seeds of which oil is extracted, yield sixty fold, and in good season eighty fold. The people grow carrot, turnips, radishes, garlic and onions. In the south and south-eastern parts are found, walnut, peach, apricots, wild apples and wild vines which yield a few grapes. There are some few flowers. The poplar, elm, willow and ash abound in most of the parks and groves of Tibet.

There are many gold mines in the provinces of U-Tsang, Chang, Takpo, Koñ-bo and Kham. Silver abounds in the last province which borders on China. **Mines and minerals.** There are also mines of copper and nickel. Sulphur, vitriol, cinnabar, cobalt, turquoise, stones, amber and alabaster are abundant. The hills of Tibet have, from their general appearance strong mark of containing those fossils, that are inimical to vegetation. Tibet is very poor in iron. It is not that there are no mines of that useful metal in Tibet. It is probable that the Tibetans either do not know to work those mines or that they have no fuel, enough to fuse the metal. In the neighbourhood

¹ During my residence at Tashi-lhunpo, I took observations from the thermometer. I had a Fahrenheit thermometer and a pair of maximum and minimum thermometers. The thermometer during the month of October, was on an average 37° in the morning; at noon 45° and in the evening 40°. During the month of November there was frost in the morning and evening, and the thermometer stood below 30° in the morning and 36° at noon in the shade. A serene, clear sky prevailed, during day and night not a cloud was to be seen in it. The genial warmth of the sun in the transparent atmosphere made the days very delightful. The weather in the months of October and November was clear throughout, cool, and pleasant and the prevailing wind blew from the south and south-west.

of Tashi-lhunpo there is a lead mine. In the province of Chang-thang, about twenty days' march north and north-west of Tashi-lhunpo, there are immense mines of rock-salt which is universally used for all domestic purposes in Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan.

People in Tibet generally suffer from sore eyes, and blindness.

Diseases.

The high winds which prevail nine months in the year, sandy soil, and glare from the reflection of the sun, both from the snow and sand, are evidently causes of the same. Coughs, colds, and rheumatism are frequent in Tibet. Simple fevers occasionally arise from temporary causes. They are easily removed, sometimes without treatment.

Liver diseases with the exception of *Pekan*, which is produced by sedentary habit and continual drinking of tea-soup made with rancid butter, are occasionally met with. Tibet is not exempt from venereal diseases. People suffer from it apart from other causes, more on account of the grossness of their food and for want of cleanliness in their habits of living. Smallpox, when it appears in Tibet strikes the people with too much terror and consternation. They pay less attention to those who are infected, thinking their case hopeless. All communication with the infected is strictly forbidden, even at the risk of their being starved, and the house or village is afterwards erased.

During the time I was laid up at the monastery of Samding I observed that the physicians there used roots and bark of roots for making powders and decoction for administering to their patients. The bark, leaves, berries, and stalks of many shrubs and trees are used in a pulverised state or in decoction. Some are astringent, some are of bitter taste, but the generality is employed to strengthen digestion and to work as tonics.

The Tibetans drink tea prepared in the manner of soup with butter

Food.

and salt and leave a little in the cup, with which they make a dough with barley meal, and afterwards eat it. For dinner and supper they make the barley meal paste with tea and eat it with boiled mutton, kid or beef of yak when available. They are fond of a gruel made of dried meat, barley meal, radish, or dried curd. The Lamas seldom eat fish or fowl. All classes of people eat raw meat, though occasionally. Only the rich eat rice, bread and meat with sauce, as dainty dishes, called *Gya-zē* prepared after Chinese fashion. They drink malt beer: ardent spirit is seldom taken. The people generally use dried dung of cows, donkeys, horse and sheep, for fuel. Firewood is used when it is available in some districts. They cook in earthen-ware vessels. The Tibetans are skilful potters.

For clothing purposes they have only cloth of wool, serge, or yarn,

Clothing. blankets, which are seldom more than a foot in breadth, and skins with the hair on. In winter they use robes lined with lambskin. Silk robes lined with fur are used by the rich nobles and official Lamas.

They live in walled houses made of stone and sun-dried bricks, built with flat or terrace roof. Their houses are spacious and several storeys high. The grand

House.

Lama's residence at Lhasa is thirteen storeys and covers the entire summit of a hill. The temples are generally furnished with gilt turrets and domes made after the Chinese style. The houses are generally whitewashed with a kind of lime, their inside is often neatly plastered and contains paintings. The roof rests on wooden beams and is generally made of slate or clay beaten on branches of trees placed on the beams. The floor of their houses are generally kept clean.

Character and Social Customs. Mr. George Bogle and Captain Samuel Turner whom Warren Hastings sent to the court of the Tashi Lama, brought back with them a very good opinion regarding the character of the Tibetans. Visit-

ing Tibet full one century after Turner's time, I returned with the same kind of impression of the character of the people. Humanity, and an unartificial gentleness of disposition, are the constant inheritance of a Tibetan. Without being officious, they are obliging; the higher ranks are unassuming, the inferior, respectful in their behaviour; nor are they at all deficient in attention to the female sex; in this respect their conduct is equally remote from rudeness and adulation. The women of Tibet in higher life enjoy an elevated station in society. To the privilege of liberty, the wife adds the character of mistress of the family, and companion of her husbands. Among the humbler classes the company of all, indeed, she is not at all times entitled to expect, different pursuits, either agricultural employments, or mercantile speculations, may occasionally cause the temporary absence of each; yet whatever be the result, the profit of the labourer is expected to flow into the common store; and when one of the husbands returns, whatever may have been his fortune, he is secure of a grateful welcome to a social home. The custom of polyandry which prevails here links whole families together in the matrimonial yoke, checking the increase of population in this singularly unfertile country. It also tends to prevent domestic discords, arising from a division of family interests, and to concentrate all the spirit, and all the virtues, inherent in illustrious blood. Jealousy causes unhappiness and dissensions where several men, not brothers, live in the company of one wife. The several husbands are then called *ñamdo-pyün*, i.e., brothers on account of a joint wife.

In higher life courtship is carried on with little art, and quickly brought to a conclusion. The elder brother of a family, to whom the choice belongs, when enamoured of a damsel, makes his proposal to the parents. If his suit is approved, and the offer accepted, the parents, with their daughter, repair to the suitor's house, when the male and female acquaintances of both parties meet and carouse for the space of three days, with music, dancing, and every kind of festivity. At the expiration of this time, marriage is complete. Mutual consent is generally the bond of union, and the parties present are witnesses to the contract which is formed for life. In case when one man marries one wife mutual consent is supplemented by a pecuniary contract which makes it dissoluble.

The country round the lake does not exhibit a varied prospect; it is all a leafless, dreary scene; one uniform russet brown covers alike the valleys and the hills. On the summits of the hills, here and there, springs are seen arrested in their fall, and converted into solid monuments of ice. These contribute greatly, together with the universal nakedness of both hills and valleys, to impress the traveller with an idea of the extreme bleakness of the region, and the rigour of its climate. The atmosphere, indeed, is in an extreme degree keen and pure. The dryness of the soil and scantiness of vegetation, contribute little towards charging the air with humidity. It remains clear even to brilliancy throughout the year. In winter the water of the lake becomes frozen. Its expanse becomes uniformly smooth, presenting a most noble sheet of ice.

In the narrowest parts of the lake there are ferries. During summer and autumn small boats made of an entire skin of a yak ply across them, carrying one or two sheep, goats or persons. In winter on the frozen surface, dust and powdered cow-dung are thrown to make the passage of sheep and goat over them less slippery.

The smaller lakes freeze to a great depth which afford ground for skating, but the people of Tibet are ignorant of that kind of amusement; they, however, are very good sliders.

II.—ACCOUNT OF TRAVELS.

1. A VISIT TO SAMDING, THE GREAT MONASTERY OF THE LAKE COUNTRY OF YAMDO.

On the 15th of May, 1882, while I was proceeding to Lhasa, in the company of Lhacham Kusho, the wife of *Shapé* Phala, one of the four Ministers of the Grand Lama, of Lhasa, I suddenly fell ill at Nangar-tse.

The kind-hearted lady gave me an introduction to her cousin Dorje Pha-mo, the incarnate female hierach of Samding. In handing over the letter to me she said :—"Fear not Pandubla, Dorje Pha-mo will be as kind to you as myself. We have no hand in the inevitable consequence of *Karma*. You must submit to it, but I am glad that you have fallen ill here instead of at another place, for here we can send you to Dorje Pha-mo. Come directly to our house when you recover." She warned my two attendants Pador and Lama Tomola surnamed Tshingta not to desert me. Her two sons exhorted Pador to be a faithful and devoted servant to Pandubla (myself), and serve him to the last. It was about 9 A.M., when I slowly rode towards Samding. At a distance of about two miles from Nangar-tse, we crossed a sluggish stream which flowed towards the Yamdo lake. The rivulet was teeming with a small fish and overgrown with a kind of sedge, over which green moss was scattered. The plain over which we travelled was extensive towards the north and south.

Crossing three or four limpid, but sluggish streams, all on their way to join the great lake, we arrived at the eastern side of Samding monastery, which, perched on the top of a barren hill, looked very picturesque. The flight of stone steps from the foot of the hill to the top of it, along which a zig-zag pathway wound up, lined by a stone wall about six feet high and three feet broad, filled me with the greatest dismay : how could I ascend to that height when my heart throbbed even while I was seated on the pony ! Arrived at the large *Chhorten* (stūpa) where pilgrims generally halt and encamp, Tomola asked two men, who were coming down from the monastery, if Dorje Pha-mo was accessible to pilgrims, and if the two physicians were at the monastery. Being answered in the affirmative, I dismounted from the pony, and sat down gasping on a stone step. After a few minutes' rest we commenced our wearisome ascent. Taking rest at every bend of the stair, I reached its top about 300 feet in height. The top of the steps, however, was not the end, for a narrow pathway thence lead us further up to the foot of the monastery. From the eastern edge of the hill we now came to the north-western face of it, whence we enjoyed a grand view of the inner lake of Yamdo. Ascending a few steps, we arrived at the northern gate of the monastery, which faces the inner and higher lake called Dumo-tsho, the demon's lake. I saw with surprise several men walking round the monastery and continually twirling *Manikhorlo* (prayer wheels), for I thought men, excepting women pilgrims, had no access to the monastery of which the presiding head was an incarnate nun ; but the number of monks seemed to be large among the circumambulators. I was led along a narrow lane towards the north-east corner of the monastery. A few minutes after I was waiting

seated on the plinth of the building. Amchi Chhenpo the senior physician arrived, and with an appearance of kindness and sympathy, while feeling my pulse said "*mi-tog, mi-tog* do not apprehend (danger), do not apprehend; you have come from a great distance, I will give you good medicine." He appeared to be about 70 years in age, quite grey, but with a frame still strong and sturdy, of middle stature, with agreeable features, broad forehead and dignified looks. Helped by Tomola, I followed him, and after ascending two ladders we arrived at the portico of his residence. The old man, while twirling his prayer wheel with the right hand, and frequently taking snuff with his left, observed the working of my lungs with attention as I walked and climbed up. He gave me two powders to be taken with warm water and ordered his cook to serve me with a cup of plain tea. Shortly after being refreshed we went to the place of the venerable lady Dorje Pha-mo, carrying Lhacham's letter. Tomola represented my case to her through the Amchi Chhenpo, and paid five *tankas* with a scarf for her blessings and protection. Dorje Pha-mo was at this time performing some religious service. She received the letter and immediately consulted certain books on divination to examine my fortune. She then informed Tomola that she had found my illness to be serious though not fatal, in consequence of which, the speedy observance of some efficacious religious service would be urgently needed. As I had come from Tashi-lhunpo, and with a letter from Lhacham, she would be glad to see me later on. She also conveyed to me her leave to freely ask for anything we might require for subsistence during our stay at Samding. This assurance was most cheering, and enlivened my drooping spirits. Tomola went to the evening congregation of the monks leaving me in the old physician's charge. He presented the assembly with enough of tea and butter, and also a few pieces of silver, together with a scarf, requesting them to pray for my recovery. The monks with one voice prayed that the gods might extend their mercy to me, a pilgrim from a distant land. Next day Tomola arranged to entertain the monks of the monastery who were about eighty, with food.

The monastery of Samding was built on the narrow neck of land which connects the peninsula of Donang with the main land of Tibet. It has the holy lake of Yamdo on its west and the accursed Dumo, the demon's lake, on its east. Dorje Pha-mo is venerated for her power to suppress the demons which, it is believed, infest the latter.

The peninsula of Donang and the smaller islands of the great lake are frequented by great abundance of water-fowl, wild geese, ducks, and storks called *Tung-tung*, which, on the approach of winter take their flight to the milder regions in the Himalayas.

Large numbers of swans, the largest species of the crane kind, come here in summer and autumn and lay eggs, some of which are as large as a turkey's egg, in the sands and in the crevices of rocks near the banks. During the rainy season sounds resembling those of a falling avalanche, or what are called "Barisal guns," are heard from Samding and the neighbouring places to come out of the smaller lake in consequence of which it is called Dumo-tsho—the lake of the demon.

2. JOURNEY ON THE SHORES OF LAKE YAMDO-CROFT (PALTI).

On the 23rd of October (1882) on my way to the ancient monastery of Sam-yea, I revisited the place called Dsara tsan-chhur (the nook of the genii), so called on account of its being a hiding place of robbers who waylay travellers. Passing it with feelings of dread and danger, we entered into the tortuous winding of a rugged and gloomy valley, which passed, we began to see light as the glen widened. We then got a peep into the table-land of Nangar-tse and descried the famous monastery of Samding, the late scene of my sufferings. Its white walls and sombre roofs could be distinctly seen. At about 10 A.M., we arrived at the solitary village of Rhingla. Formerly when Rhingla was prosperous, a branch monastery of Samding existed here. It is now in ruins with the exception of a *chhorten*. There are two or three families here who make pottery. We cooked our breakfast in the house of an old potter of 70 whose two sons were engaged in turning pots. They employed a concave wooden pan, on which pots were turned by being twirled with the hand. During the rotation of the pan with the pot the potter shaped the latter with a wooden knife, and sometimes with his fingers. After breakfast we resumed our journey. Crossing the Dsara chhur which rising from Kharula empties itself in the Yamdo lake we ascended along the gentle slopes of a hill to take the road to Talung.

The contrast between the elevated and the lower platform of this lake country is most striking. The latter, which extended up to the margin of the lake, being covered with an extensive carpet of deep verdure, afforded refreshment to the eye, while the former, the abodes only of vultures and kites, was of a most repulsive and inhospitable aspect. The inlets of the Yamdo lake from this side were also numerous. We passed by a walled enclosure, adjoining which there were some ruins. We were told that this enclosure was solely used as a pony market, and that the annual pony fair of Talung formerly used to be held here. There were many *dōk* sheds, now deserted, probably owing to the shepherds and herdsmen having retired to more fertile parts of the country. We now found ourselves in a gravelly plain

filled with scattered blocks of rock and boulders. The way, which threaded sometimes along the edge of the mountains and sometimes through the middle of the plain, was very rough. I therefore rode very carefully. The village of Talung (country of ponies), which has a hillock in its middle, from a distance presented a very imposing appearance. We arrived at this at 5 P.M. A castle-like monastery with painted windows and corner towers adorns its top. The village is large, containing upwards of two hundred houses, scattered over the flat. At the foot of the central hill there is another monastery belonging to Sakya. The barley-fields were all stony and evidently sterile. Far behind were the *dök-pa* sheds. The yaks of the place appeared to be of good breed and large size. The people, from the way they had cultivated the lands, seemed very industrious. This year's crop had been much damaged by the frost and hailstorm of September. The villagers refused us shelter in their houses, suspecting Phurchung to be a *Duk-pa* (Bhutanese). The Bhutanese are called Lhopa (the Southern) at this place, and are very much dreaded, as they often make raids on this place for plundering the villagers of their cattle and grain. The skies were filled with rain clouds, and a slight shower fell. After making fruitless negotiations for securing our night's shelter under a roofed house, at last we came to the gate of the Sakyapa monastery, where many monks, the elders of the villages, and the villagers, including children and women, were standing in anxious expectation of the arrival of Je-tsun kusho of Sakya, who was just returning from a pilgrimage to Mon-cho-nag and other places of the South. The band was playing hautboys, drums, and the gigantic trumpets (called *Dung-chhen*). Gopon (our guide) winked at us not to speak, so we kept quiet, while he conversed with the villagers and succeeded in convincing them that we were not *Dukpas*. A kind-hearted *Gelong* (monk) conducted us to the interior of the monastery compound through a lofty doorway. The hall through which we passed was about 18 feet wide and about 15 feet high. Here the spectators were drawn up in two rows, and the Lamas of the monastery, dressed in their church costumes, were present to receive their revered lady, Je-tsun kusho. The *Gelong* agreed to accommodate us in the house of one of his friends. The *namo* (hostess), though very good-natured, still suspected us of being bad men from Bhutan, but being repeatedly assured by Gopon that we were not Bhutanese, she accommodated us in an out-house where ponies are halted, and furnished us with good *chhang* (malt beer). The stall was far from being comfortable; but since leaving Gyañ-tse I had been a stranger to comfort. Phurchung gave me a wretched meal. I slept well amidst the clamour of the religious service occasioned by the arrival of Je-tsun kusho.

24th October 1882.—We resumed our journey a little before sunrise. The streamlets were frozen and the ponies slid several times on the slippery ice; the wind was howling and extremely chill. My face, tightly bandaged with a piece of Assam silk cloth, was well protected; but my feet within the boots began to freeze, and I could hardly draw out my hands from inside the long sleeves of my lambskin vestments. There were no villages near the way. Far behind were the *dōkpa* tents, whence the howling of mastiffs was alone heard. From this distance the village and the monastery of Taling were visible. After two hours' journey we came to the edge of the Yamdo lake, a nook of which we had now almost doubled. We crossed the Shandung-chhu inlet of Yamdo with much difficulty owing to its being frozen. The Shandung monastery and the valley for some time formed the only object of importance within view. The morning sun had lengthened the shadows of the cliffs that overhang the Yamdo; so that we had to journey a long way under their shade, and could not enjoy the genial rays of the sun. To add to the discomforts a very chill, unwelcome breeze blew, freezing our extremities. We had a glimpse of the Chhoi-khor monastery, which is noted for its supplying the whole of Tibet with a class of fantastic dancers called Achi-Lhamo actors. Some of these professional players and dancers annually visit Darjeeling. As we came nearer we obtained fuller views of the Chhoi-khor monastery, which commanded a singular view, as it was situated like an eagle's eyrie amidst the bleak and sombre cliffs of Yamdo. Passing along the circuitous margin of another nook of the lake, we entered another broad valley with a stream in its middle flowing towards the lake. The large village of Ri-o-tag, I was told, was on this side of Yamdo. After an hour's ride we came within two miles of it. The plateau through which we now passed was several miles long and broad. To our right we saw at a distance of eight or nine miles the ruins of Ri-o-tag Jong. About a mile towards our right hand side we were shown a place near a village where we could breakfast, shortly passing the village we crossed the Ri-o-tag stream after which we crossed a saddle-like eminence. Beyond the latter is a stream flowing to the Yamdo, on the banks of which we halted for breakfast. This was a grassy patch of ground filled with cavities and mole hills. Phurchung prepared me a dish of boiled *phing* (vermicelli made of peas) and mutton with rice. At 10 A.M. we resumed our journey. We were now ascending an undulating plateau. This rose, as we proceeded, in successive retiring terraces, the undulations being in an ascending slope. These were covered with grass, now yellowish brown at the approach of winter. Presently the tortuous winding of the Yamdo came in view as

we ascended a gentle acclivity. An hour's ride brought us to the top of this ridge, which ran in a lateral direction from right to left till obstructed by the lake. From this eminence we saw the villages of Yurōp, Kegutag and Khyunpo-dō situated on the side of the lake. The country, though very thinly populated, yields extensive pastures, as could be judged from the healthy appearance of the numerous cattle—yak, sheep, goat, and donkeys grazing here and there. At 3 P.M. we saw a man coming towards us at a swift pace. Gopon accosted him, and after a short conversation found him to be his friend's son. As the man was going on urgent business to his home at Ri-o-tag, he said he could not come back to Shari in the evening, but begged us to pass the night at the house of his father-in-law, who was the richest man of Shari. Riding slowly down a gentle slope, we came to a flat dip, where we met a shepherd tending about three to four hundred sheep. He saluted me and pointed out to us the village of Shari, situated on the lee side of a ridge standing between Yamdo and a small lake about six or seven miles in circumference. The margin of this fresh water lake and the slopes on all sides were covered with excellent pasture, on which a number of cattle were grazing, while the lake itself abounded with wild ducks and swans, besides other water-fowl, all of which would have been very tempting objects for sportsmen. The village of Shari, which commands an excellent view of the smaller lake, being situated on an eminence on its bank, contained two rich families, the huts of whose *misser* (serfs) were scattered round their spacious houses. A long and well repaired *mandang* (votive pile of inscribed stones) with a pretty *chhorten* (*stūpa*) near it formed the frontage. Alighted near the *chhorten*, I sat on its plinth, and sent Gopon to negotiate for our night's accommodation. His acquaintance, who was unwell, was afraid of receiving us in his house, evidently from apprehension of smallpox. Gopon, however, after much entreaty, obtained his leave for our occupying the *Manilhakhang* (temple of the *mani* prayer wheel), and a maid-servant with a kettleful of tea came to conduct us to it. The *Manilhakhang* was a pretty turret-like stone house, measuring 8 feet by 10 feet inside with a small spire rising from the middle of its flat roof. Its outside was decorated with a dusky red cornice, and the stones of its bonded walls were painted with Buddhist figures, so it presented an inviting appearance. On entering I was received by a grey-headed man, and a small table was placed before me and tea poured in a China cup for my refreshment. The centre of the room was occupied by a *mani* cylinder (prayer-wheel) about three feet in diameter and six feet high. Its outside was covered with *mantras* (charms) in the *Lants'ha* (Rājja character of Magadha) and the ever present mystic expres-

sion—*Ōm nari padmē hūm*. I spread my rug to the east of the cylinder, and accommodated myself in a space about four feet wide. The old man, whose sole occupation was to turn the prayer-wheel, had his bed at the opposite side. He continually muttered *Ōm nari padmē hūm*. The floor was good and remarkably clean; the walls were painted, containing basso-relievo figures from the Buddhist pantheon. There was no forage nor gram for our ponies. Phurchung cooked for me, and Gopon, after regaling himself with several bottles of *chhang* (malt-beer), went to sleep on the lawn-like margin of the lake, tethering the ponies to graze in the pasture. His friend had assured him that our ponies would not be removed by anybody during the night. The wind blew rather strongly during the first part of the night. I gave some rice and tea to the old man, who, considering me a sacred personage, prostrated himself several times to salute me, though I vainly tried to explain to him that being a layman I did not deserve such homage from anybody. When he came to receive my *chhag-wang* (benediction from the touch of the hand), I told him that I was no incarnate being, and could not place my palms on his grey head, but being equally subject to misery like himself, I could touch his forehead with mine as a token of sympathy with him as a brother man. I also pointed out to him the hands of Pema Juñ-nē (Padma Sambhava) the saint, where he could apply his forehead for benediction.

But this only impressed him with still more pious feelings, and he called some of his acquaintances, a few shepherds, to prostrate themselves before me, which they did. The old man told us of the condition of the monastery of Shari Gonsar, situated on the top of a hill behind the village, and also of the village where we ought to halt next day. I passed the night very comfortably.

25th October.—I awoke early in the morning, about 4 o'clock, refreshed and in good spirits. The ponies saddled, we started for Khame-dō, our next stage. The wind began to blow afresh with much fury, and the chill was simply tormenting. My body, though well protected by lambskins, could not escape the penetrating effects of the cold, and began to freeze. After crossing two large inlets of the Yamdo, we came to a nook of the great lake. While traversing the little promontary overhanging this nook, we met a woman of about 40 cutting wild plants resembling brushwood. The cold was so severe that I could hardly bring out my hands from within the fur sleeves, yet the woman was doing her work as if it was a summer morning with her. The nook passed, we came to a solitary village with three or four huts belonging to two *dōk-pa* families. Some yaks were grazing on the margin of the lake, which here presented a very desolate and

solitary appearance. Some pointed rocks interposed here and there. This passed, we crossed a small *La* (hill) and descended towards another lake which, with its grassy flat shores and the undulating slopes above them, looked very lovely and cheering. The dark blue expanse of water, now ruffled by the wind, rose in gentle waves. This was the lake Rombu-dsa, which is fed by a few inlets. Our way partly lay along the dried margin of the lake, which was sandy, and partly in grassy paths above the highest water mark. We passed a caravan of yaks and donkeys carrying heaps of fuel, consisting of fragrant weeds and some wood. After a slow ride of two hours along the margin of this lake and a flat valley beyond it we entered into a gorge, from which we had a glimpse of the Yamdo lake. Here there are two roads to Khame-dō one by the side of the great lake, and the other *viâ* Melung village across the Lonagla Pass. I was told that the latter was rather difficult on account of the steepness of the *La*. I, however, preferred the more difficult route, having been informed that I would have to use the saltish water of the Yamdo at breakfast if I went by the easier one. Half an hour's ride from this gorge brought us to the village of Melung. It was past 11 A.M. when I dismounted at the door of the *Gambu's* (village headman) house. He received me with much politeness, and begged to know how he could serve us. We bought *chhang* for our use and hay for our ponies. I preferred to sit in the yard, which was filled with cowdung, the *Gambu's* house being very low and the ceiling covered with soot. The *Nabo's* (host) brother sat near us and had a chat with Gopon about the Chinese Ampa's movements, as *Ūlag* (road service) was demanded from them. After breakfast we resumed our journey, intent upon reaching the next stage, which according to Gopon would be the village of Khame-dō. Our guide always sought places for halting where he had acquaintances; so that sometimes we halted after marching long distances, and sometimes after very short marches. Passing a dried-up water-course filled with boulders and broken stones, we ascended the steep slopes of Lonagla, also filled with splinters, rocks, and gravel. There were evidently no pastures, but still a few yaks and sheep were grazing at this barren place. Gopon picked up some flints, and told us that the village derived its name from the flints, as *mē* in Tibetan means 'fire' and *lung* a "valley." Hence Melung is fire or flint valley. The *La* was high, and our ponies were knocked up. From the village to the top of the Pass it was about a mile's distance. The *La* crossed, we entered another spacious and flat valley intersected by sparkling brooks. On the slopes of the hills here juniper and other fragrant plants grow in abundance. The pastures for yaks and sheep were of luxuriant growth. The grass of this pleasant valley, now

growing yellow, refreshed our eyes. There was a remarkable contrast in the appearance of the opposite sides of Lonagla. Crossing the bends of several tiny streams, and passing across the valley, we arrived at the village of Kha, where the men and women were engaged in threshing corn. Heaps of sheaves lay in their yards. We now found ourselves in an extensive open country, more resembling a plain. As we proceeded onward, we caught a glimpse of some *jong* (castle) standing on a distant isolated peak. The valley was filled with numerous villages. The villagers, intent on their work, did not care to inquire about us, but only now and then stared at us with some curiosity. The dogs of this place were very fierce and powerful, and kept barking as long as we remained in their sight. Passing many houses on our left, and walking a distance of about a quarter of a mile, we entered the large village of Khame-dō, which stands on the flat slope of the ridge extending to the back of the village of Kha. At the entrance of the village there were several *Mandangs*. After inquiring from several villagers where we could get accommodation for the night, we were pointed out the house of one of the richest residents of the place who usually received guests. Several seats made of slabs resembling marble were placed in the courts of their residences as well as in the open ground. The houses of the villagers were very good looking, large and white-washed. The barley stalks were stout and long. Gopon told me that some of these altar-like seats were made by potters and painted with lime. The villagers use them for basking in the sun. At 5 p.m. we came to the gate of the rich resident whose guest we were to be. After much knocking we succeeded in getting the door opened by an old woman, who, after inquiring what we wanted, disappeared. After a while the *nabo*, an old man of nearly seventy, made his appearance and showed us his stable, where we could pass the night. It was on account of our guide's foolishness that we failed to get better accommodation here, for he offered only to pay one *tanka* (six *annas*) as house-rent, whereas this miserly landlord asked for more. I paid the *nela* (rent) immediately, which pleased the old man, who at my request supplied us with two stuffed cushions and a screen. The latter was very useful, as at the time a strong wind blew and we had no other protection against it, for the stables in Tibet are not like those in India. They are stalls open on three sides. When my rugs were spread and I took my seat as a respectable man, the *nabo* drew near and began to converse with me about the harvest which the people had just reaped. The crop of this year, he said, was damaged by the September frost. We bought from him a *Phagri* (sheep burnt like a pig after slaughter). This yielded us very fat mutton. Our host was one of the rich-

est men of the village, which contained upwards of a hundred families. His house is very large and surrounded by a wall with three gates. There were plenty of willow, juniper and other fragrant plants in this village. The juniper plant formed a part of their fuel, which chiefly consisted of dried cattle dung.

26th October.—I rose from bed at sunrise. Our miserly *nabo* came early to take back from us the curtain and the fine articles which he had lent us. We parted with him after an exchange of polite expressions. He begged us to come to his house on our way back. We resumed our journey at 6 A.M. A villager joined us near the precipitous rock which stands at the entrance of the village on this side. He proved a pleasant companion for a few miles. We passed along the side of another small lake, and were shown the large village of Ling, the seat of the *Jongpon* of this side of the Yamdo District. This fellow talked of certain orders that were received by the *Jongpon* of Ling from Lhasa to examine strangers travelling within his jurisdiction. He also said that similar orders were sent to Sam-yea. We crossed two little streams with him by wading across them. When we came to the bank of a third stream, which was the largest, he parted with us after showing us the *rab* (ford). My pony, in wading through the half frozen stream, once sank up to his knees, Gopon extricated us with much exertion. The pony had several stumbles besides. We now entered the extensive table-land of Kamoling, the Arcadia of Tibet. Here were grazing hundreds of ponies belonging to the Government of Lhasa. The head of the Government stables has one of his establishments here. It took us several hours to cross a bend of this large pasture land. Its breadth was ten to twelve miles, but its length appeared very great. There was no water in the several water-courses which intersected the plain. In some of the streamlets bulging crusts of ice were seen. We were very thirsty. At noon we arrived at the village of Shabshe, containing nine or ten families.

We cooked our breakfast in the court of a poor woman's house, filled with goat's dung and some goats' hair-bags and hay. Our good *namo* kindly lent us some fire-wood. The object of our preferring dirty huts and stables in a village to clean flats and river banks was that we got fuel, water, water-vessels, &c., from the host, which, as a rule, were generally included in the *nela* (house-rent). The *namo* was a very well-behaved and obliging woman. Though very poor, she seemed to be in good spirits and cheerful. She has three children by two joint husbands. We bought one-fourth of a sheep at one *tanka* from one of her neighbours, and some barley meal, of inferior quality.

After breakfast we resumed our journey. As there were several

ways leading in different directions, our good *namo* kindly accompanied us a short distance to show us the way to Sam-yea. There were other villages scattered in this upland plain, which passed we came to the little village of Tan-tha, situated at the foot of the *La*, we were about to ascend. Climbing up a short distance, we came near some well-constructed recluse's cells, now empty. These from a distance appeared like some monastic establishments. Gopon showed to me the monastery, situated on a dome-shaped hill near the lake, but half a mile off from the place. The ascent from here was very tiresome. But all these fatigues vanished when the height gradually widening the horizon brought sublimer scenes to my enchanted eyes. I really thought that the view from the top of Thib-la, of the snowy country of Tibet, of her far-famed lake and river, and of an immense congregation of snowy mountains which skirts like silvery fringes, on the vanishing line of the dark blue sky in the horizon, cannot be equalled by the sceneries of the glorious Himalaya. The numerous windings of this *scorpion lake*, as Yamdo is called, the countless hills and mountains which they surrounded, and the waving line in the horizon where the snows of Noijon Kang-Zang mingle with the blue summits of distant mountain ranges, were all visible from Thib-la. The valley of the deep and meandering Tsañpo, the dark pine and fir forests which here and there broke the monotony of the bleak mountain scenery, and the snowy mountains of Lhobra, bore a striking contrast to the scenery on the other side. Both defy description. On the southern flanks of this lofty pass, which appeared to be more than four thousand feet above the lake, a kind of broad-leaved plants, called *yeshi kogo*, grow. The dried leaves rustled as they were blown by the wind. The wind blew so strongly that I found it difficult to stand. This increased the fatigues of this exceedingly trying journey along the steep slopes of Thib-la. The down-hill journey was worse than the up-hill one. At 5 P.M. we arrived at the village of Thib. There were about ten houses in this little village, all clustered together and only separated from one another by narrow lanes and barley fields. Heaps of hay and unthreshed barley lined these little avenues. There were some willows of stunted growth in the village. We were conducted to the house of a well-to-do villager. The *namo* received us very kindly. One of her husbands was in the field reaping barley crop. Her elder husband was gone to Lhasa. We were accommodated in the upper floor of her house which was spacious enough. A part of the house was under repair. The night was very fine and the skies bright, and the little village with its white-washed houses and fields was bleached with moonlight.

✓ *An ancient inscribed Buddhistic statue from Grāvastī.*—By THEODOR
BLOCH, PH.D.

[Read March, 1898.]

The statue with which I am dealing in this paper, was discovered by General Cunningham during the working season of 1862-1863 among the ruins of the modern Set-Mahet, in the Gonda District, Fyzabad Division, of Oudh. It was presented by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Elgin to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1863, and is now in the Indian Museum. It is a colossal standing figure,¹ 11' 8" high, made of a sort of reddish sand-stone, the same material which the Mathurā sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period are made of. The head, the halo, and the right arm are almost entirely gone; the left hand is slightly damaged. The body is represented clad in a large garment, which leaves bare the right shoulder only. It is tied round the waist by a girdle, and reaches down to the ankles; round the left shoulder it is laid in the fashion of a Roman tunica. The feet are naked, and a peculiar object of uncertain meaning is represented standing between them. The statue has always been described as an image of Buddha, but from what follows it will become clear that this is not quite correct. It is a figure of a Bōdhisattva, and not of a Buddha. But, in any case, we may fairly well conclude from the analogy of similar statues that the missing right arm of the figure was represented lifted up in an attitude which is usually called that of "teaching," while the left hand rested on the hip, holding up the end of the long vestment.

The most important part of the statue, however, is its pedestal. This is due to the fact that it contains in three lines an inscription in ancient characters of what Prof. Bühler in his *Indian Palæography* has called "the Northern Kṣatrapa type" of the last century B.C. or the first A.D. This inscription has been edited before by *R. L. Mitra*,

¹ The statue has been described or referred to previously by General Cunningham in *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. I, p. 339, Vol. V, p. VII, and Vol. XI, p. 86, and by Dr. Anderson in his catalogue of the *Archæological Collections* in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, p. 194.

in this Journal, Vol. XXXIX (1870), Part I, p. 130, and Plate VII, No. XXI, and by Prof. *Dowson* in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. V, p. 192 and Plate 3, No. XXXII.¹ Both these editions are very unsatisfactory indeed, and it is for this reason that I now re-edit this ancient document.

The pedestal which contains the inscription, measures 3' by 6''; the inscription consists of three lines of writing, the size of which varies between $1\frac{3}{4}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Unfortunately the greater portion of the first line and a few characters in the beginning of the second are entirely gone; the remainder, however, is in a fair state of preservation. The lost portion contained the date, and it is owing to its loss that we are to resort to palaeographic evidence for the purpose of forming an idea as to the age of the record itself and of the statue on which it is inscribed. I have already above stated my opinion on this point in describing the characters of the inscription as belonging to the "Northern Kṣatrapa Type." This type is to be found in the inscriptions of the *Mahākṣatrapa Ġuḍasa* or *Ġōḍāsa*, the son of *Ranjubula*, whose reign in the North-West of India preceded that of the Kuṣāṇa Kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, etc. Of *Ġōḍāsa*, hitherto three inscriptions² have been found, viz. :—

- (1) An inscription from the Jail Mound in Mathurā: Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. III, p. 30, and No. 1, Plate XIII;
- (2) An inscription from the Kaṅkāli Tilā at Mathurā: Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 199, No. II (with facsimile);
- (3) The Mora Well Inscription: Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. XX, p. 48, and Plate V, No. 4.³

Compared with the considerably larger number of Kuṣāṇa inscription, the characters of these documents differ in the following points :—

(a) the letter *ya* when forming the second part of a compound (*saṃyuktākṣara*) is expressed by its full sign, not by the ligature: so in No. 1 (Mathurā Jail Mound Inscription) throughout, viz., *svāmīsyā*, *mahākṣatrapasyā*, *Ġōḍāsasyā* (A. S. R., Vol. III, Pl. XIII); in No. 2 and No. 3 no compound letter with *ya* occurs;

(b) the upper cross-bar of the letter *ṣa* consists only of a short horizontal line attached to the left hand vertical line of the letter, while in the Kuṣāṇa *ṣa*, as a rule, it reaches as far as the right hand

¹ See also Cunningham, *l.c.*, p. 339, and Vol. XI, p. 87.

² With the exception of Mathurā Lion Capital, of course, which is inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī.

³ This is, correctly spoken, only an inscription of a son of Rājūvūla. His name is lost, but, in all probability, he was *Ġōḍāsa*. A photo taken from an impression of this inscription is in the Indian Museum.

vertical line. This rule also holds good throughout in all the three inscriptions, viz., No. 1, l. 1: *kṣatrapasya*, l. 2: *puṣkarinī* (twice); No. 2, l. 2: *kṣatrapasa*, l. 3: *ghōṣēna* (twice); No. 3, l. 1: *kṣatrapasa*, l. 2: *vr̥ṣṇēna*, l. 4: *vapuṣā*;

(c) the more archaic form of *ṣa* is preserved, against the Kuṣaṇa form of this letter, which is nearly like a *ṣa* turned upside down: compare e. g. the *ṣa* of *Ḫōḍāsasa* with *ṣipini* of Nos. II and XI, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 199 and 201;

(d) of compound letters, as a rule, the top of the second lower-most letter is marked by the *seriff*, this letter being not merely a continuation of the down-stroke of the first. Thus, in No. 1, l. 1: *mahākṣatrapasya*, *ḫōḍāsasya*, l. 2: *paṇcīma*, *stambha*;¹ in No. 2, l. 2: *svāmisa*, *mahākṣatrapasa*, *saṃvatsarē*; in No. 3, l. 3: *yastā*, l. 4: *jvalatā*;

(e) the writing, as a rule, is done with greater care and shows a preference for angular forms, against the cursive, slovenly executed letters of the Kuṣaṇa Inscriptions. This will become clear at once by glancing over the facsimile-plates of Prof. Bühler's articles on Mathurā Inscriptions in Ep. Ind., Vols. I and II.

The same peculiarities of writing which, I trust, will be considered sufficient proof of an earlier age of the Northern Ksatrapa type, as compared with the Kuṣaṇa type, occur also in a number of cognate inscriptions from Mathurā or the country around it. Thus, e.g., in the Anyor Inscription in A. S. R., Vol. XX, Plate V, No. 5, and in Mathurā Inscriptions, ed. Bühler, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, No. 33; Vol. II, No. 4, 5 and 7. Among the Kuṣaṇa Inscriptions, I know of only one document which exhibits the same characteristics. It is the inscription on the Elephant Capital from the Kaṅkālī Tilā at Mathurā, figured in Plate V of A. S. R. Vol. III.² This inscription is dated in the reign of

¹ Of this inscription I have only seen the facsimile in Plate XIII of A. S. R., III, which is not altogether reliable as to these minor details.

² See also p. 20 of text. Of this interesting sculpture, the Indian Museum also possesses a photograph. In the Inscription it is said to be a *Nandivigāla*, which may mean, that the pillar was "as big as Nandin," but which also may be a technical term of unknown meaning. It is a Jaina sculpture, as may be seen from the concluding line of the inscription, which records that the monument was erected *Arahantanaṃ puṣyāyē* 'in adoration of the Arhants.' The inscription, according to the photograph, reads:

(line 1) [Ma]h[ā]r[ā]ṣasya Dēvaputrasya Huviṣkasya saṃ 30-8

(line 2) hē 3 dī 10-1 ētāyē purvāyē naṃdī-vigālō

(line 3) pratisṭhāpitō Jivādāsa-grēṣṭhi-putrēṇa grēṣṭhinā

(line 4) [A]rhyēṇa Rudradāsēna Arahantanaṃ puṣyāyē.

This means: "On the 11th day of the 3rd half-month (*pakṣa*) of the cold season, in the year 38, (during the reign of) Mahārāja Dēvaputra Huviṣka, on this date (specified as) above, this (pillar which is) as big as Nandin (?) has been set up by

Huīṣka, in the year 38 (38 in text; the plate gives 18), and here too the ancient form of *ṣa* is preserved throughout; but *ya* in compound letters is given in its full form only once, in *āryyēṇa* (line 4), and the rule as to the *seriff* on top of the second part of compound letters never appears to be observed. Thus, this isolated document cannot prove much against what I have said above as to the difference between the Northern Kṣatrapa and Kuṣāṇa type of writing.

Now it is the former, not the latter, type to which the characters of the inscription from Ārāvastī almost decidedly belong. This will be clear even from the facsimile given by Prof. Dowson.¹

Thus : (a) the letter *ya* in compounds is expressed by its full form throughout with the only exception of *puṣya* in line 1, where we have a ligature of exactly the same form as *e.g.* in the various compound letters *śya* in No. 12, of A. S. R., Vol. III, Plate XIV; thus, in line 1: *bhikṣusya*, line 2: *saddhyavihārisya*, *bhikṣusya*, *Balasya*, *trēpiṭakasya*, line 3: *acaryyānām*;

(b) *ṣa* is written in its ancient form, with a small cross-bar, throughout: *viz.*, line 1: *bhikṣusya*, *Puṣya*, line 2: *bhikṣusya*;

(c) *ṣa* occurs in its archaic form throughout: *viz.*, line 2: *dāṇḍaṣṣa*, *Ārāvastīyē*;

(d) the rule as to the *seriff* in compound letters is observed almost throughout: *see* line 1: *purvayē*, *bhikṣusya*, line 2: *saddhyavihārisya*, *bhikṣusya*, *Balasya*, *trēpiṭakasya*, *bōdhisatvō*, *chātram*, *dāṇḍa*, *Ārāvastīyē*, line 3: *acaryyānām*, *sarvastivādinām*. There is only one exception from this rule, *viz.*, the letter *ṣa* in *dāṇḍaṣṣa* (line 2). This letter exhibits a cursive form, which looks very much like *ṣya*, but there remains no doubt as to the correctness of my reading, as may be seen from the context;

(e) the shape of the letters is decidedly more angular and reminds one strongly of the letters in Ārādāsa's inscriptions. In addition to this, I must call special attention to the *ḍa* of *dāṇḍaṣṣa* (line 2), which is of a much more archaic form than that usually met with in Kuṣāṇa, or even Northern Kṣatrapa inscriptions.

It is for all these reasons that I am inclined to believe that the inscription contained a date referring to the reign of one of the Kṣatrapa

the Seth, the noble Rudradāsa, the son of the Seth Ārādāsa, in adoration of the Arhants." Both the Donor's and his father's name are compounds made with Ārā, the pillar is described as being as big as Nandin, the famous vehicle of Ārā; but the concluding words dedicate the monument to the Arhants. Jainism apparently already in those early times was as much mixed up with Ārāivism as its greater rival, Buddhism.

¹ I regret that it is impossible at present to publish a photograph of the Statue or a facsimile of the Inscription.

predecessors of the Kuṣāṇa Kings.¹ The inscription, accordingly, and so also the statue itself, belong to the last century B.C., or the first century A.D., for the question as to the date of those Northern Kṣatrapa Kings depends entirely on the date of Kanīṣka and his successors, a point, on which, to my mind also, Mr. Fergusson's phantastical conclusions have been too readily accepted by Prof. Oldenberg and others. In any case, there remains no doubt that the statue is one of the oldest Buddhist images which hitherto have been found in India.

I now publish my transcript of the inscription, made from the original stone:

Transcript.

(line 1).

१० ७ एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुण्य .

(line 2). •[स]^२सद्यविहारिस्स भिक्षुस्य बलस्य चेपिटकस्य दानं बोधिसत्वो^३
क्काचं दाण्डस्स प्रावस्तिये भगवतो चंक्रमे

(line 3). कोसंबकुटिये अचर्याणां सर्वस्तिवादिनं^४ परिगहे ॥

Translation.

“(During the reign of—, in the year—, season—, half-month—, on the) 19th (day), on this date (specified as) above (this statue of) a Bōdhīsattva (together with) an umbrella and a stick, (being) the gift of the monk Bala, a teacher of the Tripiṭaka, (and) fellow-wanderer of the monk Puṣya-(mītra), (has been set up) in Ārāvastī, at the place where the Blessed One (i.e., Buddha) used to walk, in the Kūṣāmba-kuṭī, for the acceptance of the teachers belonging to the Sarvāstivāda-School.”

The language of this inscription is the well-known mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prakrit which is met with in all the Mathurā Inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period and thereabout. Practically it is the same.

¹ The date must have contained a reference to the reign of a king. The broken portion of line 1 is much too long for a simple date, expressed, moreover, only by *saṃ* and similar abbreviations, as is the rule throughout in Mathurā and other cognate Inscriptions.

² Only the second portion, viz. *ya*, of this compound letter is visible. It is, however, evident that this *ya* belonged to the Genitive-termination of the proper name beginning with *Puṣya*, which may be conjectured to have been *Puṣyamītrasya*.

³ Traces of the first *ō* of *Bōdhīsato* are still visible on the stone.

⁴ The letter *vā* of *Sarvāstivādīnaṃ* has been added later. It is very small and hardly visible on the facsimile, but clear enough on the stone. Apparently the “additional letter *ta* between *sarvasti* and *dinam*, shown in R. L. Mitra's copy” as mentioned by Prof. Dowson (l. c. p. 192) is this letter *vā*.

language in which the *gāthās* of the *Lalitavistara* or similar Buddhistic books are written, and which I consider with Prof. Bühler, Kern and others to be the result of persons who spoke Prakrit and were unlearned in Grammar, trying to write Sanskrit. In fact till very late at the end of the Buddhistic period, all the Buddhistic Inscriptions are notorious for their neglect of the rules of spelling and grammar, and also the Buddhistic Sanskrit Literature, with a few rare exceptions, can not certainly be called classic as to its style, whatever its merits else may have been. The fact that the mixed dialect is exclusively used in the inscriptions of Kaniška and even earlier certainly proves the correctness of the Buddhistic tradition which places the translation into Sanskrit of the Buddhistic Scriptures into the time of Kaniška. In the Ćrāvastī Inscription, we meet with the following instances of mixed forms, being half Sanskrit and half Prakrit :—

(a) the Loc. Sing. of feminine nouns in *ā* or *ī* is *-ayē* (i.e., *-āyē*) or *-iyē*; thus: *ĕtayē purvayē* (l. 1), *Ćāvastiyē* (l. 2), *Kōsambakuṭiyē* (l. 3);

(b) of masculine nouns in *i* or *u*, the Genitive Sing. takes *-sya*; thus: *bhikṣusya* (ll. 1 and 2), *saddhyavihārisya* (l. 2);

(c) compound letters are sometimes given in their Sanskritic, sometimes in their Prakritic form; thus *caṁkamē* (l. 2), *parigahē* (l. 3.) for Skt. *caṁkramē* and *parigrahē*, against *saddhyavihārisya* (l. 2; Sanskrit *sadhryagrihārin*) and *acaryyāṇām* l. 3 (Skt. *ācāryāṇām*). Another instance is *Ćāvastiyē* (l. 2) for Skt. *Ćrāvastyām*; this form, however, curiously enough re-occurs in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (see Petersburg Dictionary s. v. *Ćāvastī*);

(d) long vowels before compound letters are shortened as a rule, in accordance with Prakrit; thus: *acaryyāṇām Sarvastivādinām* (l. 3) for Skt. *ācāryāṇām Sarvastivādinām*. The long vowel of *chātraṁ dāṇḍaḥ=ca* (l. 2) for Skt. *chattraṁ daṇḍaḥ=ca* which is perfectly clear on the original stone, is due to the vernacular pronunciation, and agrees with such forms as *āntēvāsi* for Skt. *antēvāsi* in various other Mathurā Inscriptions, and the genitive termination *-āsa* instead of *-assa* in Bharhut.¹ The sandhi of *dāṇḍaḥ=ca* (*ibid.*) is, of course, an instance of the opposite tendency;

(e) a form of peculiar interest is *saddhyavihārin* in line 2. It corresponds to *sādhivihārin* in Sanchi Inscriptions, I, 209 (Ep. Ind. II, p. 379), where it has been translated 'fellow-wanderer' by Prof. Bühler (*l. c.*). Its first part is in Pāli *saddhim*, which in the dialect of this Inscription becomes *saddhya*. This clearly shows that Pāli *saddhim* does not go back to Sanskrit *sārdham*, as has been hitherto assumed by most scholars, but to Sanskrit *sadhyak*, as has been first recognized by Prof. Fischel.

¹ See Bühler, *Epigr. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 195.

The Inscription records the gift of a Bōdhisattva by a monk Bala to some teachers of the Sarvāstivāda School, who resided at Ārāvastī. He is called "a fellow wanderer (*saddhyavihārin*) of the monk Puṣya—(probably Puṣyamitra)" and a *Trēpiṭaka* or in Sanskrit *Traipitaka*, i.e., "one who has studied or teaches the Tripiṭaka." A similar term, *pēṭakin*, is met with as early as the Bharhut Inscriptions,¹ and in later time we find the same title in the Inscription No. 6 from Kanheri (Arch. Surv. Rep. Western India, Vol. V, p. 77), a document written in characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D., where we read of a "*traipitakōpādhyāya-bhadanta-Dharmavatsa*."² This clearly proves that the Tripiṭaka must have been studied in India till at least the end of the 5th century A.D. The existence in these days at and near Mathurā of the school of *Sarvāstivādins*, to which the recipients of the gift belonged, is well-known to us already from cognate inscriptions, and does not call for any remark.

By far the most important statements of the inscription, however, are the description of the gift itself, and of the locality where it was set up. The former is described as "a statue of a Bōdhisattva, an umbrella and a stick" (*Bōdhisattvō chāttram dāṇḍa-ca*, line 2). The Bōdhisattva of course is the statue on which the inscription is engraved; the umbrella apparently surmounted the statue, similar ones being frequently met with among the sculptures from Gandhara. In Bharhut, Sanchi and Gaya the presence of Buddha is generally indicated by a throne (*vajrāsana*) surmounted by an umbrella, and these also remain associated with him in later Buddhistic art. It is evident that the umbrella belongs to Buddha because he is a *cakravartin*, just as the wheel, the sign of the unrestrained progress of the law, marks him as an *apratihatacakra* or 'universal king.' According to the Lalita Vistara, the two signs of royalty, the umbrella and the two chowrees appeared already at his birth; we read here (p. 96) that at that time *antarikṣe dvē cāmarē ratnacchattram ca prādur abhūt*, and among the various reliefs from Gandhara representing this scene, which are now in the Indian Museum, there is one on which the artist literally followed the poet's words and sculptured a chowree hanging in the air. The stick (*dāṇḍa-ca*) I believe to have been a portion of the umbrella by which it was connected with the halo surrounding the head; it may have been laid out with jewels

¹ See Dr. Hultzsch's Edition in Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges., Vol. XL, p. 74 and Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 23 f, No. 134.

² I believe *traipitaka* and *upādhyāya* are two different titles of Dharmavatsa. He was one who had studied the three Piṭakas, and he had acquired the academical degree of *Upādhyāya* or "teacher." *Traipitaka* also occurs very often as a distinguishing title in Tārānātha's Tibetan History of Buddhism in India, where Schiefner translates, "*Dreikorbhalter*."

or some precious stones, for if it was merely a piece of wood or iron, no reason seems to me why the inscription mentions it specially. The umbrella, then rightly might have been called a *ratnacchatra*.¹

The statue itself is described as an image of a *Bōdhisattva*, not of a Buddha. To everyone who is acquainted with the ancient Buddhist scriptures, it is well known that these two terms are never used promiscuously, but strictly distinguished from each other,² and that such a supposition would be quite out of place here, may be easily seen by comparing this word with the other *Bhagavatō caṃkamē* in the same line of the Inscription, where Buddha is spoken of as *Bhagavān*. This can be easily confirmed by looking over other ancient inscribed statues of Buddha. Here, with one exception only, the term *Bōdhisattva* is never employed in describing the image, but such other terms as *Buddha*, *Tathāgata*, *Bhagavān*, *Āstā*, etc., which also in literature signify the teacher after he had reached the state of enlightenment, in distinction from the preliminary stage of a *Bōdhisattva* or, as it is generally explained, "a being that in this birth is destined to reach the *bōdhi*, without being born again." I refer to the following inscriptions:—

- (1) An Inscription on the pedestal of a large statue of Buddha, in Anyor near Mathurā: A. S. R. Vol. XX, p. 49 and Plate V, No. 5: the characters of the Inscription belong to the Northern Kṣatrapa type. The statue is described in line 1 as *Buddha-pratimā*;
- (2) An Inscription, incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kāman: Epigr. Indica, Vol. II, p. 212 and No. 42 of Facsimile Plate. The date of the Inscription *Sam* 74 with all probability refers to the Kuṣāṇa

¹ I must at least mention one other possible, though highly improbable, explanation of the words. On the Mathurā Lion Capital a *samachatra* is mentioned which Prof. Bühler hesitatingly translated by 'a stūpa of a monk'; see Journ. Roy. As. Soc., New Ser., 1894, p. 536, note 6. He refers to the modern *chatrī* which is used for a certain class of tomb-like monuments not uncommon in Northern India, which, however, to my mind do not seem to have any structural resemblance with a Buddhist stūpa, but rather look like Muhammadan *Maqbarahs*. But, granted the correctness of this explanation, then we might take *chātram* in our Inscription as 'a stūpa'; *daṇḍa* might refer to something similar to the *yaṣṭhi* (*yaṣṭhi*) in the Sue Bihar Inscription; see Dr. Hoernle's edition in Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 327, probably 'a metal rod containing the seven precious substances, and deposited inside the stūpa.' This explanation, though scarcely probable, would however, prove important for the question as to whether the statue has been found by General Cunningham in situ, or not.

² A few isolated instances adduced by Prof. Windisch in his *Māra und Buddha*, p. 211, cannot prove anything for the time to which this statue belongs.

Era. The statue is described as *Bhagavatō Ākayamuninā* (read :—*muninō*) *pratimā*;

- (3) An Inscription on a statue of Buddha from Mankuar : Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 45. The Inscription is dated in the 129 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to 448-449 A.D. The statue is described as *Bhagavatō samyak-sambuddhasya sva-matā-viruddhasya...pratimā*;
- (4) An Inscription under a figure of Buddha in the Kanherī Caitya Cave No. III : Arch. Surv. Rep. of Western India, Vol. V, p. 77, No. 6. The Inscription is written in characters of the Western alphabet of the 4th or 5th century A.D. The figure is called *Bhagavat-pratimā* (line 3 of inscription) ;
- (5) An Inscription on the base of a statue of Buddha from Sarnath, near Benares, now in Indian Museum : Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 281. The Inscription, on palaeographical grounds, may be allotted roughly to the 5th century A.D. The statue is labelled as *pratimā Āstuh*.

These are the only ancient Buddha statues, as far as I know, which contain Inscriptions giving us a clue as to the meaning of the image. But there is one remarkable statue still left which I have already been alluding to above. It is a statue of a seated Buddha from Budh Gaya, figured by General Cunningham in his *Mahābōdhi*, Plate XXV, and described *ibid.*, p. 53. This statue is also now in the Indian Museum, but unfortunately an inspection of the original sculpture does not give any more help in deciphering the mutilated Inscription on the base. On the contrary, some more letters have still broken off, and not even the whole context of Cunningham's facsimile is now to be found on the stone. But so much at least seems to me certain that its purport was to record the fact that a certain *Bhikṣu* set up this statue of a Bōdhisattva, who was represented as seated on a *sinhāsana*, traces of which are still visible on the sculpture behind the neck of the figure. Thus, I believe, the words in line 2 of the Inscription, *viz.*, *Bōdhisattva-pratimām sinharathē pratiṣṭhāpayati* are best accounted for. Here then again we have a statue of a Bōdhisattva, not of a Buddha.¹

How then is this discrepancy to be accounted for? There is nothing in the head-dress to distinguish the Gaya Image from any

¹ I do not agree with General Cunningham referring the date 64 of line 1 of the Inscription to the Āka Era. The form of some letters of the Inscriptions, especially of *sa*, is much later and the true date probably lies 150 or 200 years behind. I am unable to make anything out of the name of the *Mahārāja* mentioned in the beginning of the record.

ordinary Buddha statue of about the same time or even later. With respect to the Ārāvastī Image, we must leave off this point at all, as the head unfortunately is broken.¹ But the point, on which both the Gaya and Ārāvastī image are alike to each other, while they differ from any ordinary Buddha statue, is the shape in which the garment is laid round the body, leaving naked in both the right shoulder. The ordinary type of Buddha represents the teacher dressed in the *saṃghāṭī* that large vestment which covers the whole body of a Buddhist monk, reaching to the ankles and leaving bare only the neck and the shaved head. It looks, indeed, very much so as if Buddhist artists in trying to revive the figure of their divine Lord in painting or in stone, did not imitate any other type among the Hindu Pantheon, but tried to depict the Lord so as the pious mind believed him to have been, and the model from which the first statues of Buddha were made, was the appearance of an ordinary Bhikṣu, just as the Jainas made the images of their *Tīrthāṅkaras* look like an ordinary Yati. If General Cunningham, therefore, with respect to the Ārāvastī statue says that "the right shoulder is bare as in all Buddhist figures" (Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 339), this is decidedly wrong. The evidence adduced above rather leads us to believe that *wherever we find a Buddhist statue which has the right shoulder bare, this is to be taken as a sign that the statue represents not a Buddha, but a Bōdhisattva.*²

It is not my intention here to press this argument. The evidence, I admit, is but scanty, and the subject is one which still labours under great difficulties. I merely want to point, in connexion herewith, to two other facts which tend to corroborate the result thus arrived at. The first point is taken from the Gandhara sculptures. Here the type with the right shoulder bare, occurs only in connection with a particular position of the hands which is generally described as

¹ I know of one more Buddha statue of very much the same style as the Ārāvastī Image. It is only the upper part of the statue, shown on a photograph in the Indian Museum together with the statue described in A. S. R. X, 5, which Dr. Führer in his List wrongly calls an image of Aśvaghōṣa, but which really seems to be an image of a Nāgarāja. Here the head is preserved; it is without any ornament or dress, the hair represented in the same conventional way as in the Mankuar Image where Mr. Fleet erroneously speaks of "a close fitting cap." The *uṣṇīṣa* or 'skull-born' is also seen on this fragment. The vestment is very much like the Ārāvastī Image.

² There is, of course, one more point in the shape of the dress of this statue which is against the ordinary fashion of Buddha images, viz., the girdle round the waist. The vestment of the Ārāvastī image is decidedly not the *saṃghāṭī*, while those from Gandhara and Bihar, referred to further on, appear to be clad in this garment.

dharmacakramudrā, and which Prof. Grünwedel in his valuable "*Handbuch der Buddhistischen Kunst in Indien*" (Berlin, 1893, p. 146 ff) has from independent reasons, tried to establish as a characteristic of statues representing not *Čākyamuni*, but the future Buddha *Maitrēya*. *Maitrēya*, according to Buddhist Mythology is not a Buddha yet, and I question the correctness of Prof. Grünwedel's words who calls these statues representations of "*Maitrēya as Buddha*." To my mind, it would be more appropriate to speak of them as "*statues of Maitrēya*," and from the result which I have arrived at above, it is extremely probable that the fact that such statues wear the right shoulder uncovered by their vestment, is due to their being representations of a *Bōdhisattva*, in this particular case the *Bōdhisattva Maitrēya*.¹ The next point in connexion herewith refers to the Bihar Buddhist statues. Among these, I have met with the type of Buddha with his right shoulder bare only in connection with a peculiar attitude of the hands commonly called "*bhūmisparça-mudrā*."² This holds good almost throughout, as far as I know. Now it is my opinion that this particular attitude where Buddha touches the earth with the top of the fingers of his right hand, while the left lies in his lap, always is intended to depict him as sitting under the *Bōdhi-tree* (which indeed is always represented on such statues), and calling the earth as a witness during his great struggle with *Māra*. This opinion of mine rests on the fact that in some of the Bihar images belonging to this type the demons of

¹ There remains of course one doubtful point. Some statues of a different type, representing figures in royal dress, and formerly called "*statues of princes*," have been explained by Prof. Grünwedel as representations of *Maitrēya*. How then is this difference in type to be accounted for? I can see no reasonable explanation. My above statement rests on careful examination of the Indian Museum collection of Gandhara sculptures, among which there are about 200 images of Buddhas or *Bōdhisattvas*, coming partly from Swat, partly from Yūsfzāi (Jamālgarhī, Takht-i-Bāhī, etc.). I have come across only one exception, i.e., a figure seated cross-legged, the right shoulder bare, and the right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. On the base of the statue, a small relievo of the *Indrasīlaguhā* scene is sculptured (see my note in *Proceedings*, A. S. B., 1898, July, p. 186 ff). My statement referring to the Biḥār sculptures also is based on the Indian Museum collection; the number of Buddhist statues among them may be given approximately as 200. Their date, as will be known, is the time of the Pāla Kings of Magadha.

² A fair specimen of this type may be seen in Plate II of this Journal, Vol. LXIII, 1894, Part I. It is a photo-etching of a statue excavated by Dr. G. A. Grierson near Rajgir, the ancient Rājagṛha. In the description given by Bābū Qarat Candra Dās on the authority of Lama Sherab Gya-tsho (p. 37) this attitude is called the *dhyanī āsana* which seems to be wrong. Also the tree above the head of Buddha is wrongly called the *Kalpavṛkṣa*. Other similar statues may be seen in Cunningham, *Maṭhābōdhi*, Plate XXI 7, D, E, F, and Plate XXVI.

Māra's army are still represented, while on the majority of them no sign of Māra or his warriors is visible. Further it must be noticed that in Sarnath¹ and Ajanta,² wherever the attack of Māra is represented, Buddha's attitude is exactly the same as in those Bihar images above described. And this holds good also for Gandhara, where Buddha's attitude in the Māra scenes is always that of *bhūmispārça*, as called by me above.³ This point again tends towards the same direction. For when Buddha was attacked by Māra, he was not yet a *Tathāgata* or a *Buddha*, he was only a *Bōdhisattva*, and wherever the scene is described in Buddhist Literature, he is spoken of by that term. Thus, here again, the right shoulder has been left uncovered, because the artist did not intend to represent the Divine Teacher after he had reached the perfect state of enlightenment, but merely in a preliminary stage, as a *Bōdhisattva*. The evidence, accordingly, derived from epigraphical as well as sculptural facts, tends to show that wherever we meet with a statue of Buddha which represents him with his right shoulder uncovered, we must consider this *a priori* as a sign indicating that the image is not meant for a Buddha, but for a *Bōdhisattva*.

But to return to the Inscription, we must now take into consideration the important statement as to the locality where the statue was set up. As we have seen already, the image was erected in *Ćrāvastī* (spelled *Ćāvastī*), in the *Kōsambakuṭī*, "in the place where Buddha used to walk" (*Bhagavatō caṃkamē*). *Ćrāvastī*, or in Pāli *Sāvattī*, contained the *Jētavana*, a place on which Buddhists look with the same veneration as a Christian does on the house of Lazarus in Bethania. In this garden or park there were two buildings, as we learn from the famous medallion in the Bharhut Stūpa, labelled as: *Jētavana Anādhapēḍikō dēti kōṭi-samthātēna kētā*, i.e., 'Anāthapiṇḍaka gives the Jētavana (to Buddha), having purchased it⁴ for a layer of kōṭis (i.e., gold pieces)' (see Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, Plates XXVIII and LVII). One of

¹ See Plates 67, 68 of Dr. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, Part I.

² There are two representations of Māra's attack on Buddha in Ajanta. One is a sculpture, figured in Plate LI of Burgess and Fergusson *Cave Temples*, the other the famous painting, a drawing of which may be seen, e.g., on page 93, woodcut No. 31, of Grünwedel's *Handbuch*.

³ But on the specimens seen by me, about 3 or 4 in number, the right shoulder is covered. All of them are, however, very poor with respect to workmanship.

⁴ Dr. Hultzsch takes *kētā* as Pāli form of skt. *krētā*, but it is a gerund, corresponding to skt. *kṛtvā*; its prototype would be *krayitvā*, and it corresponds to *kṛitvā* in the story of the Avidūrēnidāna (Fassböll, *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 92). I also do not agree with his translation of the words *Kōsambakuṭī* as "the Hall at Kauṣāmbī;" see his edition of the Bharhut Inscriptions No. 39, on page 230, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, for 1892.

those two buildings is described as *Kōsambakuṭī*; it is the building mentioned in our Inscription, as has been recognized long ago by General Cunningham. The second building is called *gaṇḍhakuṭī*, and is referred to directly in the tale of the Avidūrenidāna (*Jātaka*, ed. Fansböll, Vol. I, p. 92), where we read that Sudatta (*i.e.*, Anāthapiṇḍika) erected this building in the centre of the park (*sū majjhē Dasabalassa gaṇḍhakuṭīm kārēsi*). Further it is stated in the same place, that he also erected 'places to walk, to sleep, and to stay during the day' for Buddha (*caṃkamaṇa-rattitṭhāna-divātṭhānāni ca*), one of which doubtless was the *Bhagavatō caṃkama*, where the statue was set up, according to the Inscription.

It thus is established beyond doubt that the statue originally was erected in *Ārāvastī*, and the only point that remains for our discussion is the question whether we are entitled to identify the locality where the statue was discovered by General Cunningham in 1863, *i.e.*, the modern Set-Mahet with the site of the ancient *Ārāvastī*?

It has been done so by General Cunningham; see his account on Sahet-Mahet, or *Ārāvastī*, in Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 330 ff., and Vol. XI, p. 78 ff. This identification up to lately, seems to have been generally adopted, and is repeated by Dr. Führer in his List of Antiquarian Remains in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, p. 306. Recently, however, it appears to have come into discredit again. I refer to V. A. Smith's report on the Remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District (Allahabad, 1896) where in note 3, p. 4 he states: "I greatly doubt the correctness of the accepted identification of the site of *Ārāvastī*. I have a strong suspicion that *Ārāvastī* should be identified with Chārdā, or Chahārdah, in the Bahraich district, about forty miles north-west of Sēt-Mahēt (Sahēt-Mahēt). The latter place, which is commonly reputed to be the site of *Ārāvastī*, will probably prove to be Sētawya, which was situated eastward from *Ārāvastī*." It is for this reason that I take up the question here again.

It would be wrong to infer from a statement contained in the diary of the Journey of Hiouen Tshang, that the image discovered by General Cunningham is the same statue which the Chinese pilgrim saw in *Ārāvastī*. He tells us that (St. Julien, Hiouen Tshang, Vol. I, p. 296) "les bâtiments du *Kia-lun* (convent) sont complètement ruinés; il n'en reste que les antiques fondements. On ne voit plus qu'une petite maison en briques qui s'élève toute seule au milieu des décombres; elle renferme une statue du Bouddha." Though this description closely agrees with the site where the General found the statue in 1863, yet from what immediately follows in Hiouen Tshang's account, we learn that the statue which he saw, was made of sandel-wood, while Cunningham's

statue is made of stone; and if we compare his account with the narrative of Fa-Hian (p. 75 of Beal's translation), it becomes evident that both refer to the same statue. This was recognized originally also by General Cunningham (see Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 340), but later on, he changed his opinion, and said (Arch. Surv. R., Vol. XI, p. 86): "When Hwen Thsang visited Srāvastī in A.D. 636, he found the Jetavana so completely ruined, that nothing more than the foundations remained. 'One small brick temple containing a statue of Buddha rose alone amid the ruins.' This solitary temple I have identified with No. 3,¹ because the Inscription which I found inside dates back to the early period of Indo-Scythian rule. *The statue must, therefore, have been enshrined in this temple several centuries before the time of Hwen Thsang; and as I found it inside the temple in 1863, it is certain that it must have been there in A.D. 636, when the Chinese pilgrim visited the Jetavana.*" This rather bold statement has been accepted without hesitation by Dr. Führer in his List of Antiquarian Remains, p. 310, where he says that "this very statue of colossal size, (i.e., the statue seen by Hiuen Thsang) was found in 1863 by General Cunningham inside a small ruined brick temple." We may, of course, admit an error on Hiuen Thsang's side, but we have no reason whatever to do so. And, on the other hand, the fact that the statue does not seem to have been noticed by Hiuen Thsang, does not appear to me to value much. It may have been buried below the ground as early as in his time, and it may be owing merely to this fact that the statue has still been preserved to us in a country where stone material always, on account of its rarity, has been valued high and greatly demanded, while, on the other hand, further excavations conducted by General Cunningham and Dr. W. Hoey at the same site have been very resultless as to ancient sculptures or inscriptions.

While thus the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims become useless to us in deciding the question whether the image stood at Set-Mahet already at their time or not, we can, on the other hand, not derive an argument against the question at issue from the fact that the statue was made from the same material which was in use at the same time in Mathurā. For, as General Cunningham rightly observes (Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. I, p. 339), "we know that the sculptor's art was in a very flourishing state at Mathurā during the first centuries of the Christian era" and the same fact holds also good for a number of other ancient sculptures that have come to light in the country around Mathurā. We are perfectly justified in putting all these sculptures,

¹ This refers to Plate XXV, same Volume.

which, by no means, all have been found in Mathurā itself, but some of them at a considerable distance away, together under the class-term of Mathurā sculptures, just as we speak of Gandhara-sculptures, and such a term rests on much stronger grounds than many a similar one introduced by Indian Archæologists. If, indeed, we find a statue with an Inscription, approximately 19 centuries old telling us that the place where the statue was set up, was Ārāvastī and their being no visible signs that the statue has been transported from some other place, such as Inscriptions in later characters, etc., we must primarily infer that the site where it stands is the same place as that mentioned in the Inscription, until by some independent reasons we have come to the conclusion that such an assumption cannot be upheld. Such independent reasons, in our case, would be the distance in miles and the direction according to the horizon, as recorded by the Chinese pilgrims between Ārāvastī and other places visited by them.

The next place to which both Fa-Hian and Hsien Tshang travelled from Ārāvastī, is *Kapilavāstu*, the birth-place of Buddha. The latter place, by the discovery in 1896 of the famous Pāṇḍya Edict of Aśoka, has been identified beyond doubt with a modern site in the Nepalese Terai to the north of Uska Bazar station. How far its distance from Set-Mahet in English miles is, I am unable to make out with certainty; its direction according to the horizon from Set-Mahet is to the East. The distance recorded by Fa-Hian between Ārāvastī and Kapilavāstu is about 14 *yōjanas* in a south-easterly direction; ¹ Hsien Tshang gives 500 *li* in a south-eastern direction as the distance between the kingdom of Ārāvastī and the kingdom of Kapilavāstu. ² Both accordingly record the direction as lying to the south-east, while the actual direction between Set-Mahet and Pāṇḍya seems to be to the east. The question accordingly is: are we, on account of this discrepancy, justified in assuming that the statue has been brought to the place where General Cunningham found it, from somewhere else, while the actual site of Ārāvastī must be searched for somewhere to the north-east of Pāṇḍya?

¹ From Ārāvastī to Na-pi-ka, the birth-place of the Buddha Kraku chanda; 12 *yōjanas* to the south; from this place to Buddha Kanakamuni's birth-place (*viz.*, the modern Nigliwa in Tahsil Taulehva, Nepal): less than 1 *yōjana* to the north: from this place to Kapilavāstu: less than one *yōjana* eastward; see Chapter XXI and XXII (p. 85-86) of Beal's translation.

² St. Julien, Vol. I, p. 309 "en partant de ce royaume (*i.e.*, *Sho-lo-fa-si-ti* = Ārāvastī), il fit environ cinq cents *li* au sud-est, et arriva au royaume de *Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu* (Kapilavastu)." I expect that the distance in *lis* and *yōjanas* agrees nearly with the actual distance in English miles between Set-Mahet and Pāṇḍya, but I have no means to work out this question, and I refrain myself, for this reason, from taking it into consideration. 500 *lis* or 14 *yōjanas* both come up approximately to 80 English miles.

To my humble opinion, such an assumption would be very difficult to maintain. Suppose, a pious Buddhist Monk or layman who had got hold of the statue at the place where it was standing previously, desired to make it a gift to some of his co-religionists who were then residing at the place which is now called Set-Mahet. For this purpose, he removed the statue, 11' 8" in height, and of a considerable weight some thirty or even fifty miles. Is it not then entirely in opposition to the usual custom in India that he took all this trouble and, in connexion with it, the considerable expenses upon himself without recording even his name on the statue? Ārāvastī in 636 A.D. when Hinen Thsang visited the place, certainly was already very much devastated, and only few Buddhists were residing there. But it must have been absolutely depopulated and no one must have been there to claim the possession of the image which even on its size would have excited the religious veneration of an ordinary Hindu or Buddhist, if he was allowed to take the statue away, and nobody dared to object, as it has been done now-a-days hundred of times to Archæologists and Collectors of sculptures for the various Museums. And is it really in accordance with the usual custom in India that, whenever a religious man wants to gain merit by setting up a statue or building up a temple, he utilizes some old broken stone which he has come across with at some distant place? On the contrary, in such a case, no respect whatever for any object of antiquity is shown—a feeling which indeed is entirely new to the ordinary Indian—and the donor rather boasts himself of having made a new statue, however ugly, out of some other piece of venerable antiquity.

These considerations make me inclined to trust the authority of the Inscription on the statue discovered by General Cunningham and to look upon the discrepancy in the direction as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim as a minor point of no considerable importance. There is some more Epigraphical evidence as to the site of the ancient Ārāvastī which I may be permitted to add here, though, unfortunately, it does not help us any further. Ārāvastī is mentioned also in the following Inscriptions:—

- (1) Madhuban Copper-plate Inscription of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj; date Harṣa-samvat 25=631-632 A.D.; Epigr. Indica, Vol. I, p. 72, line 8 ff. of Inscription: *Ārāvastī-bhuktāu Kuṇḍadhānī-vaiṣayika-Samakūṇḍikā-grāma*. The plate was discovered in 1888 by a ploughman in a field near Madhuban, Pargana Nathūpur, Distr. Azamgarh, N.-W. Provinces.
- (2) Dighwa-Dubauli Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja J. I. 37

Mahēndrapāladēva; date [Harṣa]-samvat 155=761-762 A.D.; Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, 1886, p. 112; line 7 ff. of Inscription: *Ārāvastī-bhuktān Ārāvastī-maṇḍal-āntaḥpāti-Vālayikā-viṣaya-sambaddha-Pāṇīyaka-grāma*. The plate is in the possession of a Brahmin in the Saran District, Bihar, but seems to have been brought there from some distant place.

- (3) Kāṭak Copper-plate Inscription of the third year of Mahārāja Bhavagupta II.; date 11th century A.D.; Epigr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 357; line 38 ff., of the Inscription mentions a Brahman who had come to Kāṭak from the bhāṭṭa-village Kāsilli in the Ārāvastī-maṇḍala (*Ārāvastī-maṇḍalē Kāsillī-bhāṭṭagrāma-vinirgatāya*).

All these localities, however, mentioned as lying in the *maṇḍala* or *bhukti* of Ārāvastī, I have been unable to identify; for that Vālayikā in the Dighwa-Dubauli Inscription (No. 2) may be the modern Ballia in the North-West Provinces, is nothing more than a mere guess. If it is possible to identify those places, they would certainly help to settle the question, but I am unable at present to do this.

To sum up the results of this paper, we learn from the Inscription on the base of the statue discovered by General Cunningham in 1863 at the modern Set-Mahet:—

- (1) that the statue was erected in the last century B.C. or first century A.D., and consequently is one of the oldest Buddhist images found in India;
- (2) that it represents a Bōdhisattva, and not a Buddha, this being recognisable also in the shape of the robe leaving the right shoulder naked;
- (3) that, finally, the statue originally was set up in Ārāvastī and that the place where General Cunningham found it, *viz.*, the modern Set-Mahet, has to be considered on the authority of the Inscription as the site of the ancient Ārāvastī, notwithstanding a certain discrepancy in its actual direction from Kapilavāstu (Paḍeria), as compared with the direction recorded by the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hsien Tshang.

A new Inscription of Mahārāja Bhōja I., from Marwar, dated Harṣa Samvat 100.—By THEODOR BLOCH, PH. D.

[Read April, 1898].

This Inscription which is edited here for the first time, is engraved on a copper-plate discovered by Dēbīprasād, a Munsif of Jodhpur in Marwar State, Rajputana. It is stated to have come to light some fifty years ago during a heavy rainfall in a village called Sewa,¹ in Pargana Didwana¹ of the Marwar State, where it was lying buried under the earth, and whence it is said to have come to Daulatpur, in the same State; it is now deposited in the Darbar Hall of Jodhpur. I edit the Inscription from impressions kindly supplied to me by Dēbīprasād, Munsif of Jodhpur, who discovered the plate in Daulatpur and arranged for its being deposited in Jodhpur.

Judging from the impressions, the plate measures 1' 9" by 1' 4½"; its weight is said to be 30 seers. It is inscribed on one side only in characters of exactly the same type as the two Inscriptions of the same dynasty, already known to us, *viz.*, the Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla, and the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Mahārāja Vināyakapāla.² The average size of the letters is ¾". The seal, measuring, according to the impression, 9½" by 6½", is soldered unto the proper right side of the plate; it resembles in shape exactly the seal of the two other plates, mentioned above. It contains an Inscription, consisting of 10 lines of writing in relievo, above which there is, in an arch, the figure of a standing goddess, doubtless the Bhagavatī mentioned in the Inscription as tutelary deity of Mahārāja Bhōja. The same figure is also to be seen in the upper portion of the seal of the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate. The latter which I had an opportunity to inspect, leaves no doubt that this goddess Bhagavatī is intended for Durgā or Pārvatī, as she is represented

¹ Written **सेवा** and **دیدوانہ** respectively, in the vernacular alphabets.

² Edited by Mr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, pp. 105 and 138, with facsimile.

as holding a mirror and water-jar (*darpaṇa* and *kalāṣa*) in two of her left hands, both of which are among the attributes of this goddess.

The language of the Inscription is Sanskrit. With respect to orthography, the same peculiarities re-occur here, as in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates; *viz.*, the letter *b* is everywhere expressed by the sign for *v*; *parambhagavatī* (or *parambha*^o) stands for *paramabhagavatī* (in lines *e* and *k* of the seal, and lines 4 and 6 of the text); *samvatsrō*, in the date (line 16), is written for *samvatsarā* or *samvatsarāṇām*; *aṇḥa* is written for *aṇḥa* (in lines 10 and 14).

The Inscription opens with the well-known Genealogical list of Mahārajas from *Dēvaçakti* down to *Bhōja*; the same pedigree, in exactly the same words, is repeated on the seal also, and may be seen, too, in the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates of Mahēndrapāla and Vināyakapāla. Thereafter, we learn, that the *Mahārāja-Çrī-Bhōjadēva*, from his victorious camp, pitched up at *Mahōdaya* (line 1) issued a command to his officials in the village *Sivā*, belonging to the district (*viṣaya*) of *Dēṇḍvānaka*, which lay in the country of *Gurjjarattrā* (*Gurjjarattrā-bhūmau*; lines 6 foll.), informing them that a certain *Bhaṭṭa-Harṣuka* (line 8) had reported to him, that the above-named village (*viz.*, *Sivā-grāma*) had been granted by the present King *Bhōja*'s great-grandfather, *Mahārāja Vatsarāja*, (line 9: *parama-dēva-pādānām prapitāmaha*, etc.,) to his (*sc.* *Harṣuka*'s) grandfather, *Bhaṭṭa Vāsudēva*. This *Vāsudēva* again by a special deed (*pratigraha-patṛēṇa*), had made over the sixth part of its revenues to a certain *Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu* (line 10). *Mahārāja Bhōja*'s grandfather, the *Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭa*, confirmed the original grant; but in the reign of the present King *Bhōja* (*dēva-rājyē*, line 11), both the original grant (*çāsana*) and the record of its being sanctioned by *Nāgabhaṭa* (*anumati*) had been lost. The *Mahārāja Bhōja*, therefore, after he had come to know about the grant, its sanction, and enjoyment, consented that the said village should be enjoyed by the Brahmans, the descendants of *Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudēva*, who belonged to the *Kāçyapa-gōttra* and were students of the *Āçvalāyana-çākhā* of the *Rg-vēda*, as well as by the Brahmans, the descendants of *Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu*, who belonged to the *Kātyāyana-gōttra* and were students of the *Āçvalāyana-çākhā* of the *Rg-vēda*, in the same way as it had been enjoyed before, and as the division of the shares had been already settled (*prāg-bhōga-kramēṇ-aiva yathāṇḥam*, line 14). Then follows a *çloka* (line 15 ff.) which tells us that the *çāsana* was drawn up¹ by *Prabhāsa*, and that

¹ This is the meaning of the word *prayukta* according to Prof. Bühler's suggestion; see Mr. Fleet's note 9, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 197. The translation of the first line of the verse accordingly would be: "(This is the writing) of the long-enduring *çāsana*, drawn up by *Prabhāsa*."

the *Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa* acted as *dātaka*.¹ The date² of the assignment (*nibaddha*) of the grant is the year 100, the 13th day of the bright half of *Phālguna*. As in the case of the Dighwa-Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates, the date must be referred to the Harṣa Era, corresponding therefore to 706-707 A.D.

The new information which this Inscription furnishes regarding the history of this family of Mahārājas, is but scanty. It gives us the date Harṣa Samvat 100 (= A.D. 706-707) for Mahārāja Bhōja, and mentions the name of a Yuvarāja Nāgabhaṭa who has been left out in the later lists, apparently because he never ascended the throne. Of greater interest, however, are the localities mentioned in the Inscription. The village *Sivā*, the *agrahāra* of the Brahmin families descending from Bhaṭṭa-Vāsudēva and Bhaṭṭa-Viṣṇu, is described as lying in the *Gurjjarattrā-bhūmi*, in the *Dēṇḍvānaka-viṣaya*. The former I am unable to identify; but the latter apparently is identical with the modern *Didwānā*, the name of a town and pargana in Marwar State in Rajputana.³ The place is shown in the map accompanying Webb's Currencies of Rajputana, and also on Plate 27 of Constable's Hand Atlas of India; it is situated midway between Jaypur and Bikanir. Accordingly, the village *Sivā* must be identical with the modern *Sēwā*, the place where, if tradition can be trusted, the plate came to light some fifty years ago. The villages granted in the two other Inscriptions of the same dynasty, lay respectively in the modern districts of Faizabad in Oudh, and of Benares; but we now learn that one part at least of the dominions of this family of petty chiefs (Mahārājas) lay also on the other bank of the Jumna, about 500 miles distant from their Zamīndārī in Oudh and 700 miles from Benares.

I now edit the Inscription from impressions supplied by Dēbīprasād :

Text.

The Seal :

- (a) परमवैष्णवो महाराजश्रीदेवशक्ति-
- (b) देवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीभूयिका-
- (c) देव्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरो महाराज-
- (d) श्रीवत्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः

¹ For other instances of a *Yuvarāja* acting as *dātaka*, see Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāla (Epigr. Ind., Vol. III, p. 245), and Mungir Plate of Dēvapāla (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 258).

² Expressed by a symbol, not in numerical figures.

³ This has been already suggested to me by Dēbīprasād.

- (e) श्रीसुन्दरीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परंभगवतीभक्तो¹
 (f) महाराजश्रीनागभटदेवस्तस्य पुत्तस्त-
 (g) त्पादानुध्यातः श्रीमदीसटादेव्यामुत्पन्नः पर-
 (h) मादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीरामभद्रदेवस्त-
 (i) स्य पुत्तस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीमदप्पादेव्यामुत्पन्नः
 (k) परंभगवतीभक्तो¹ महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः [||*]

The Plate :

- (1) ओं खस्ति [||*] महोदयसमावासितानेकनौ² हस्त्यश्वरथपतिसम्पन्नस्त्वन्धा-
 वारात्परमवैष्ण-
 (2) वो महाराजश्रीदेवप्रक्षिदेवस्तस्य पुत्तस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीभूयिकादेव्या-
 सुत्पन्नः परम-
 (3) माहेश्वरो महाराजश्रीवत्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्तस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीसुन्दरी-
 देव्यामुत्पन्नः
 (4) परम्भगवतीभक्तो³ महाराजश्रीनागभटदेवस्तस्य पुत्तस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्री-
 मदीसटादे-
 (5) व्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीरामभद्रदेवस्तस्य पुत्तस्तत्पादानु-
 ध्यातः श्री-
 (6) मदप्पादेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम्भगवतीभक्तो³ महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः ॥ गुर्जरत्ता-
 भूमौ देगडान-
 (7) कविषयसम्बद्ध⁴सिवाग्रामाग्रहारे समुपगतान्सर्वानेव यथास्थाननियुक्ता-
 न्प्रनिवासिनश्च
 (8) समाज्ञापयति । भट्टहर्षुकेन विज्ञपितं । उपरिलिखिताग्रहारस्त्वर्वायस-
 मेत आचन्द्रार्क-

¹ Read परम्भगवती०

² The reading नौ is quite obvious here as also in the Dighwa-Dnbauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates. Mr. Fleet's reading गो seems erroneous.

³ Read परम्भगवती०

⁴ Read सम्बद्ध.

- (9) क्षितिकालं पूर्वदत्तदेवब्रह्म¹देयवर्जितः परमदेवपादानां प्रपितामह-
महाराजश्रीवत्स-
- (10) राजदेवेन मत्पितामहभट्टवासुदेवाय शासनेन दत्तो मुक्तश्च [।*] तेन
चास्य षष्ठ्यांशो² भट्टविष्णवे प्र-
- (11) तिग्रहपत्त्रेण दत्तः [।*] पितामह महाराजश्रीनागभट्टदेवेनानुमति-
ईत्ता [।*] देवराज्ये तु तच्छासनमनुम-
- (12) तिश्च विगतिसुपगतैतदित्य³ विज्ञपितं शासनमनुमतिप्रतिग्रहपत्रं⁴
भोगश्च ज्ञात्वा मया पित्तोः पुण्याभि-
- (13) दृढये काश्यपसगोत्ताश्रलायनवद्धचसब्रह्मचारि⁵भट्टवासुदेवान्वयजब्राह्म-
णानां⁶ कात्यायनसगोत्ताश्र-
- (14) लायनवद्धचसब्रह्मचारि⁵भट्टविष्णवन्वयजब्राह्मणानां⁶ प्राग्भोगक्रमेणैव
यथाग्राम⁷नुमोदित इति विदित्वा
- (15) भवद्विस्समनुमन्तव्यः [।*] प्रतिवासिभिरप्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा⁸ सर्वा-
या एषां समुपनेया इति ॥
प्रभासेन⁹ प्रयुक्त]-
- (16) स्य शासनस्य स्थिरायतेः ।
श्रीमान्नागभटो ना[म्ना] युवराजोऽत्र दूतकः ॥
सम्बत्खो¹⁰ १००¹¹ फावगुनशुदि १०¹¹३ निवद्धं¹² ॥

¹ Read ब्रह्म.

² Read षष्ठांशो.

³ Read गतेत्येतदित्यं.

⁴ This ought to be either अनुमतिप्रतिग्रहपत्रे or अनुमतिं प्रतिग्रहपत्रं.

⁵ Read वद्धचसब्रह्मचारि.

⁶ Read ब्रह्मणानां.

⁷ Read यथाग्राम.

⁸ Read विधेयभूत्वा.

⁹ Metre Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁰ Read संवत्सरा or संवत्सराणां

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹² Read निवद्धं.

The Memoirs of Bāyazīd (Bajazet) Biyāt.—By H. BEVERIDGE, Esq.,
I.C.S. (retired).

[Read November, 1898.]

This work, which is still in manuscript, owes its origin to the Emperor Akbar. We learn from the introduction to the *Akbarnāma* that when Abū'l-faḡl undertook, under Akbar's orders, to write the history of the emperor's reign, considerable pains were taken to collect the necessary materials. Among other things inquiries were made among members of the royal family and old servants of the Court, and all who had knowledge of past events were directed to put their recollections into writing. It was in obedience to this order that Bāyazīd Biyāt, who was then holding an office in Akbar's kitchen, dictated his memoirs to a clerk of Abū'l-faḡl. The same order produced the charming memoirs of Princess Gulbadan, Akbar's aunt, and apparently also those of Jauhar, the ewer-bearer. There is a copy of Bāyazīd's Memoirs in the India Office, MS. No. 216. This was Erskine's copy, and is the one which I have used for this article. Major Raverty had another copy which he quotes in his Notes on Afghānistān, but which, he informs me, is no longer in his possession. I hope that other copies may turn up, and also that some scholar will one day undertake the editing of the text. If any one undertake the task, he will do well to consult MS. Additional 26,610 of the British Museum. This is a nearly complete translation of the Memoirs by Mr. Erskine, and which might almost be printed as it stands.

Bāyazīd Biyāt belonged to a Turkish tribe, but was a native of Persia and was brought up in Tabriz. This appears from p. 77b where we are told that 'Alī Qulī Shāibānī (*Khān Zamān*) was a neighbour of Bāyazīd's in Tabriz when he was little, and also from p. 102a where it is stated that Bāyazīd grew up with 'Alī Qulī in the Āwa quarter of Tabriz. Bāyazīd was the younger brother of Shāh Bardī Biyāt, the saint and poet, who forsook the profession of arms to become a water-carrier and whose tomb is at Bardwān.¹

¹ See Professor Blochmann's article on Bahrām Saqqā, the name assumed by Shāh Bardī, in the J. A. S. B. for 1871, vol. 40, p. 281.

Bāyazīd dictated his memoirs at Lāhor in 999 (1590-91). He was then an old man, and though still in service,—he was Bakāwal Bēgī, or Steward of the kitchen,—he had had a paralytic stroke and was unable to write with his own hand. The facts that he was old and frail and that he had to dictate his recollections from memory account for their rambling character and for the inconsecutive style of the sentences. The Memoirs contain much valuable information, and in particular they give elaborate lists of Humāyūn's followers. They are also occasionally picturesque, as for instance, in the detailed account of the meeting between the two brothers, Humāyūn and Kāmran, after the latter had been blinded, but as a whole they are badly written and less interesting than the memoirs of Jauhar. They are styled on the fly-leaf of the MS. *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn*, but this title is not given by the author, who speaks of them only as a *mukhtaṣar* or abridgement, and it is not an adequate description of the contents, for the latter part of them is taken up with events of the reign of Akbar. They begin with Humāyūn's flight into Persia in 1543 and come down to the time of writing (1590-91). Abū'l-faẓl has evidently used them a good deal, though he nowhere expressly mentions them, and they are frequently quoted by Erskine in his valuable history of Humāyūn's reign. Bāyazīd tells us that nine contemporaneous copies of his book were made, two of which went into Abū'l-faẓl's library. I hope that some of them will be found one day in India. Bāyazīd's name occurs in the *Āin* under the title of Bāyazīd Bēg Turkmān as a commander of three hundred (Blochmann's translation, p. 501), and his son Iftikhār is mentioned lower down (p. 516), as belonging to the class of commanders of two hundred.

The Memoirs begin with Humāyūn's arrival in Sistān, and describe his journey to Harāt, and contain a copy of the elaborate despatch on which Shāh Tahmāsp gave directions to the governor of that city for Humāyūn's reception and entertainment. Bāyazīd, however, did not meet with Humāyūn, till the latter had joined the king of Persia at Zangān, and had gone hunting with him at Solomon's Throne (*Takht-i-Sulaimān*), south of the Caspian. After mentioning (at p. 11b) his own presence at the feasts and hunts, Bāyazīd tells us that when Humāyūn took leave of Shāh Tahmāsp and proceeded towards Tabriz, he himself was in the service of His Holiness Saiyid Muḥammad 'Arab, the Shāh's *Imām* or chaplain, who had been entrusted that year with the conveyance of the royal donative to the shrine of Imām Rīzā at Mashhad. Apparently when Humāyūn went westward, Bāyazīd proceeded on the opposite direction towards Mashhad, for he was there

with his father when Humāyūn arrived on the first Shawwāl 951, (16th December, 1544). It was the day of the *ʿIdu-l-ḡīṭr* or the breaking of the fast of the Ramazān, but the weather had been so bad from rain and snow that the people of Mashhad had not been able to see the moon. Humāyūn, however, was able to satisfy the Qāzī that he had seen the moon when crossing the Zaḡī¹ Pass on the previous evening and so after 9 A.M. all the inhabitants proceeded to the ʿIdgāh. Humāyūn stayed several days in Mashhad, putting up in an upper room (*bālākhāna*) behind Imām Rīzā's dome. One night he circumambulated the shrine and visited the tombs of the poet Mir ʿAlī Shēr and others, and in his zeal insisted upon acting as a servant of the shrine and on snuffing the lamps. This incident is also mentioned by Jauhar, (Stewart's translation, p. 60), but is referred by him to Humāyūn's first visit to Mashhad. Perhaps Humāyūn performed the ceremony twice. From Mashhad Humāyūn proceeded towards Afghānistān, and joined the Persian army on the banks of the Hilmand. He sent a force to take the castle of Bast, on the Hilmand near the junction of the Arghandāb, and Bāyazīd went with it, though apparently not in any official capacity. From Bast, Humāyūn went to Qandahār and besieged it for some months. Bāyazīd was here also, and accompanied Bairām Khān on his embassy to Kābul. On the way they were attacked by the Hazāras, and Bāyazīd records the feat of Muḥammadi Mirzā, a grandson of Jahān Shāh, the last king of the Turkmāns of the Black Sheep. Muḥammadi was on a horse which had been sent by Ṭahmāsp as a present to Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, and he leapt with it a ditch which was eighteen cubits wide, in order to attack a Hazāra archer who had wounded several of the king's troopers. He killed him, but not before the archer had discharged his arrow and wounded the horse on the chest. Notwithstanding the wound, the horse carried Muḥammadi for ten miles further and then dropped. Here Bāyazīd incidentally mentions that the famous Bairām Khān, whom he styles Baharlū, claimed to be descended from the same family as Muḥammadi. At Kābul, Bāyazīd saw the child Akbar, who was then living with his grand-aunt Khānzāda Bēgam, and heard Māham Bēgha say, that he was born in 949 (the 946 of text must be a mistake), that he was then 3½ years old, and that this date had also been written up in Kābul by his Majesty Humāyūn.

The embassy returned to Qandahār after about two months, and apparently Bāyazīd did not return with it, but joined his brother

¹ I cannot find this name on the map, though there is a place Zarkī marked N. of Mashhad. Probably the pass was to the west of Mashhad on the way from Nishāpūr.

Bahrām Saqqā who had not then become a darvesh and was in Gardiz, 65 miles S.-E. Kābul, in the service of Mirzā Kāmran. Later on, p. 19a, Bāyazīd tells us that Kāmran took Gardiz, Naghaz, and Bangash from his brother Shāh Bardī and gave them to Khizr Khān Hazāra with instructions to guard the line of march from Qandahār and Ghazni. Shāh Bardī *alias* Bahrām Saqqā received in exchange the districts of Ghūrband (N.-W. Kābul), Zohāk and Bāmiān, but when he came to pay his respects to Kāmran on his way thither, Kāmran requested him to put off his journey to Ghūrband till the affairs of the army had been settled. So Bahrām and his brother Bāyazīd stayed at Kābul till Kāmran had reviewed his troops and till the arrival of Humāyūn. This was followed by the desertion of all Kāmran's officers. Shāh Bardī was one of them and joined Humāyūn along with the famous Bāpūs Bēg and with Bāyazīd. Humāyūn entered Kābul on the 10th Ramazān¹ 952, (16th November, 1545), and had the pleasure of meeting again his wives and sisters, and his little son Akbar. Bāyazīd records that Muayyid Bēg Dūldai Barlās died only a week after the taking of Kābul, and that this was the cause of universal joy, every body saying that he was the Satan of mankind, and was the cause of Humāyūn's losing India, and that now there was hope that Humāyūn would recover that country. This is the same Muayyid who was so brutal as to cut off the hands of about 2,000 men who formed the garrison of Cunār and had capitulated.² Bāyazīd is charitable enough to express the hope that Munkir and Nakir, the two angels who question the departed, may not have been so severe on Muayyid as were his fellow-men. In the spring of 1546, Maryam-makāni, Akbar's mother, arrived from Qandahār and the circumcision of Akbar, then between four and five years old, was celebrated in March of that year with great splendour, the city being illuminated, &c. for forty days. It was on the occasion of this *āinbandī* or festival that Bāyazīd's brother, Shāh Bardī, came under a spell,³ or was drawn to religion so forcibly that he gave up his profession of a soldier and became a water-carrier under the

¹ There is, as Erskine observes, Hist. II. 325, a discrepancy about this date, but he seems wrong in saying that Bāyazīd gives the year as 953. His own copy has 952; and that this is correct appears from the statement on p. 224, that the festivities at Kābul took place in the beginning of 953.

² The statement that Muayyid was the cause of Humāyūn's losing India is corroborated by Jauhar, (pp. 15 and 16 of Stewart), who says that it was owing to Muayyid's advice that Humāyūn crossed to the south-west of the Ganges, a step which led to the disaster of Causā.

³ Memoirs p. 19a *jazaba rasīda* lit., an attraction or drawing occurred. There is another reference to this brother at p. 98a.

name of Bahrām Saqqā. His brother adds that he composed a *dīwān* or collection of poems which has been acceptable to all, both the elect and the general public, and that he went off to Turkistān, reciting, or making a rosary of (*tasbīḥ numūda*¹) the Persian *dīwān* of Shāh Qāsim Anwar,² and the Turki *dīwān* of Shāh Nasimī.³ We shall hear of him again as a water-carrier in the streets of Agra.

After some days of feasting the royal party went to visit Khwāja Rēg-rawān, the site of the moving sand, and there the princes engaged in wrestling-bouts. Humāyūn wrestled with Imām Qulī Qūrcī, and Mirzā Hindāl with his cousin Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir. After that they went to Khwāja Sih Yārān, the Place of the Three Friends (Jarrett's *Āin* II, 409 *n*), to admire the arghawān tree blossoms of the Dāman-i-kōh. About this time Caghatāi Sultān who was a Mughul prince of great promise and an universal favourite died, and one Mir Amānī made a pretty chronogram about him. After describing him as a rose and saying that in the season of the rose he meditated a journey, the verses wind up thus :—

"I sought the date from the bereaved nightingale and she said weeping, the rose has gone out of the garden" (*gul az bāgh birūn shud*). Here if we take 50, the numerical value of *gul*, from 1003, the value of *bāgh*, we get the date 953.⁴ With this, Bāyazīd ends the first chapter of his memoirs.

The next opens with an account of the trial and execution of Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir which took place in the end of 953, (January 1547). It seems that a regular indictment was preferred, consisting of nearly thirty articles. One of them went as far back as the taking of Cāmpānir in 1535 and was as follows :—"On the taking of the Fort of Cāmpānir we (Humāyūn) had come into the treasury and had commanded that no one, unless sent for, should come to the treasury-door, but you came without orders and sent your respects through a *bakāwal* (Steward) who had brought us a special dish of soup. We left coins of all sorts on the tray and sent soup to you, and you had

¹ Perhaps *tasbī'* making a seven fold copy.

² A native of Tabriz which may account for Bahrām's attachment to his poetry. He was a mystic poet and died 837 A.H. or 1434 near Harāt. There is a good account of him in Beale's Oriental Dictionary, but the date of his death there given seems wrong.

³ See Professor Browne on the Hanafi sect in J. R. A. S., January, 1898, pp. 62 and 67. Nasimī was put to death for heterodoxy at Aleppo in 820 (1417). Nasim is a district near Baghdād. The poet's real name was Saiyid 'Imādn-d-dīn. See Rieu's Catalogue of Turkish MSS. 165a.

⁴ Badā'ūnī has a similar chronogram on the death of Bairām. Lowe's translation, p. 41.

the audacity to lift off a *Muḡaffarī* (a silver coin) from it and to make over the tray¹ and all its contents to the *bakāwal*. This was disrespect according to the imperial constitutions (*tūra*).” Another was of a more serious nature, *viz.*, that he had conspired with *Shāh Husain* of *Sind* against *Humāyūn*, and that so *Humāyūn* had been driven to take refuge in *Persia*. *Yādgār Nāṣir* was found guilty and *Muḡammad ‘Alī Taghāī* (apparently *Humāyūn*’s mother’s brother), the governor of *Kābul*, was ordered to put him to death. But he refused, saying that he had never killed a sparrow, how then could he kill Prince *Yādgār Nāṣir*. *Mun‘im Bāg* suggested the employment of *Muḡammad Qāsim Maujī*, and he the same night had the *Mirzā* strangled with a bow-string. *Yādgār* was buried in front of the citadel gate, but his body was afterwards exhumed and interred beside his father in *Ghaznī*. Some time after this, *Humāyūn*, we are told, had a drinking party and when he got up was so unsteady that his foot slipped. His butler expressed sorrow that his master should take anything that could reduce him to such a state, and *Humāyūn* accepting the rebuke, vowed that he would never touch intoxicating drinks again. We are told that he kept his vow for the rest of his life. He also sent for the grave seigniors who had been his boon companions and told them that it should not have been left to his butler to warn him against evil courses. He now resolved to go to *Badakhshān* in order to coerce *Mirzā Sulaimān* who had failed to present himself at *Kābul*. On the way he punished some men who had offended him. One of them, *Mastī Firāq*, he ordered to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. The man cried out that he had the holy *Koran* under his arm, and that they should first take this away in order that it might not be damaged. Search having been made, it was found under his armpit, and his piety was rewarded by a pardon. In *Badakhshān* *Humāyūn* fell dangerously ill and when he recovered found that *Kāmrān* had taken advantage of his illness to resume possession of *Kabul*. *Humāyūn* hurried back and succeeded in driving out *Kāmrān* for the second time. The latter fled to the north and was afterwards besieged in *Tāliqān* (in *Badakhshān*) by *Humāyūn*. After a while he had to surrender and applied to his brother for leave to go to *Mecca*. *Humāyūn* was, however, too soft-hearted to insist on such an abdication and so recalled *Kāmrān* after he had gone a little way on his journey, and had an interview with him at *Tāliqān*. *Bāyazīd* gives a full and curious account of the ceremonies with which *Kāmrān* was

¹ Probably the tray (*khwān*) here meant is that containing the food or soup, and the insolence consisted in the rejection of what the king had sent, and in making over the coins to a servant.

received, and describes the entertainment which followed. There is also a description of this meeting in Princess Gulbadan's *Memoirs*. One story which Bāyazīd tells is about a conversation during the festival between Ḥusain Qulī Sultān, the keeper of the seal, and Kāmṛān. There was various discourse, he says, and Ḥusain Qulī told Kāmṛān it was reported that at a meeting held by 'Ubaidu-l-lāh Khān, the question had been put whether a man who had not in his heart hatred to 'Alī as big as an orange, could be called a Musulmān; that afterwards this subject had been brought up again in a meeting at which Kāmṛān was present and that Kāmṛān was reported to have remarked that it behoved a servant of God to have such a hatred as big as a pumpkin. Kāmṛān was indignant at Ḥusain Qulī's remarks and asked him if he took him for a heretic. To this the other replied that he was only repeating what he had heard, and that the recital of an infidel's language did not make the repeater an infidel. As the Uzbaks were strong Sunnis it is not unlikely that the question was really put, and as Kāmṛān was a Sunni or at least was desirous of pleasing the Sunnis and had married into an Uzbek family it is likely enough that he improved upon the question in the manner stated. This story is one of those which Abū'l-faḡl has borrowed from Bāyazīd.¹

The entertainment lasted for three days and was followed by a council meeting in which the propriety of making an attack on Balkh was discussed. It does not appear that Kāmṛān was present at this council, or that he was invited to express his opinion about the expedition. Very probably he was not asked for he himself had been a supplicant to the ruler of Balkh and had obtained some assistance from him in his contests with his brother.

It is suggested by Erskine that the help which the Uzbek chief had given to Kāmṛān was one of the motives for the attack on Balkh. There was considerable difference of opinion among the councillors, and in the end it was resolved that they should all march south to Nāran where the roads to Balkh and Kābul separated and that they should there decide what they should do. On the way Humāyūn turned off to visit the fountain of Band Kushā near Ishkamish (in Badakhshān and E.-S.-E. of Kundūz. On the map there is a place marked Cashma (spring or of fountain) about 7 miles N. E. of Ishkamish). There he sent for the blacksmiths and bade them prepare an iron pen, saying that when his Majesty his father Bābar returned

¹ It is also told by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in his *Memoirs*. See Tenfel's paper in Z. D. M. G. and Paul Horn's trs. Strassburg 1892, p. 37. But Mr. Horn has erroneously made the orange a pomegranate. See Text, Z. D. M. G., Vol. 46, p. 596.

from Samarqand, he had written the date and the number of his companions, and that it was proper he should make a similar record. So he engraved the date, &c., with his own blessed hand. Abū'l-faẓl¹ also tells this story, (*Akbarnāma* I, 282), and says that the occasion of Bābar's putting up the inscription was the submission to him of his brothers, *Khān* Mirzā and Jahāngir. It was, he says, in accordance with this precedent that Humāyūn engraved the inscription, for his brothers, Kāmrān and 'Askari, had just been reconciled to him and performed homage. But I have been unable to find the passage in Bābar's Memoirs. At p. 101 of these Memoirs Bābar records the cutting of an inscription near a spring, but this was in the neighbourhood of Farghāna, and again at p. 233 there is a reference to the cutting of an inscription, but this too is not the *Ishkamish* one. If Abū'l-faẓl's statement is correct, he must, I think, have got it from some other source than the Memoirs.

It does not appear that there was any fresh discussion at Nāran about going to Balkh, it having already been decided apparently that the expedition should not take place that year. At Nāran therefore the brothers separated, and Kāmrān received Kūlāb as his fief. Humāyūn went on to Pariān where he repaired the fort constructed by his ancestor Timūr. From Pariān he paid a visit to some silver mines. He sent for miners and had an experimental working made but found that the produce would not repay the cost of excavation. After this he resumed his march to Kābul, and on coming to the *Ushṭarkarām* (?) pass he lost his way. The servants who were ahead went to find out the road but could not. At last a man was seen going along on foot. He was hailed and asked his name (p. 41b). "A servant of God," he replied. "We are all servants of God," rejoined Humāyūn, "tell us your real name." My name is "*Khāk*" (earth), replied the man. Humāyūn on this said, "What is your proper name? what sense is there in the word *khāk*?" He then replied, "Then call me what you like." Humāyūn who had been already put out by losing his road, now got very angry and said, "Shall I call you a kite or a muck-rake (*Gūh dalāl*)?" "During the five or six years," says Bāyazīd, "that I had been in attendance on him, I had never seen him so put out before." After this colloquy the man became their guide and brought them to the village of *Ushṭarkarām*. Humāyūn spent the following winter in Kābul and then set out early in the spring of 1549 on the expedition against Balkh.

¹ The visit of the four brothers to the fountains is also mentioned by Jauhar, Stewart, p. 92.

It is strange what a fascination Central Asia seems to have possessed for Bābar and his descendants. We find Bābar spending the best years of his life in fruitless attempts to regain possession of *Farghāna* and to establish himself in *Samarqand*, and now we find his sons engaged in the same bootless warfare, and neglecting the far more promising field of India. A war against the *Uzbaks* seems to have been to this family what a campaign against the *Persians* was to the *Greeks*, or a crusade to the *European nations* in the *Middle Ages*. *Humāyūn* made his attack in company with his brother *Hindāl* and his cousin *Sulaimān*. *Kāmran* and 'Askari sent word that they would come, but they failed to put in an appearance. *Kāmran* indeed took advantage of *Humāyūn's* absence on this expedition to capture *Kābul* for the second time.

We are told by *Bāyazīd*, (p. 94*b*), that *Sulaimān* of *Badakhshān* fought 72 battles with the *Uzbaks*, and was always successful, but if so he was the only *Timūride* who ever got the better of them. And he too eventually found that the *Uzbaks* were too strong for him, for he lost his son *Mīrzā Ibrāhīm*, who was made prisoner by the *Uzbaks* in one of his father's expeditions and was taken to *Balkh* and put to death there. And *Sulaimān* himself was eventually driven out of *Badakhshān* in his old age and forced to take refuge with *Akbar*. Where *Bābar* had failed, even with the powerful help of the king of *Persia*, it was not likely that his unstable son *Humāyūn* should succeed. His campaign against *Balkh* ended in disastrous failure, and his sufferings during the retreat remind us of those experienced by his father when he fled from *Samarqand* after having been driven out by *Shaibāni Khān*. *Bāyazīd* was present in the campaign and was now a direct servant of *Humāyūn*, having begun his career as a servant of *Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd* of *Aubāh*, the king's butler, and having afterwards served *Ḥusain Quli*, the keeper of the seal.

As *Humāyūn* was marching towards *Aibak*, one of his followers shot a leopard. The seal-bearer remarked that this was a bad omen, and cited the instance of the *Uzbaks* who on account of a similar occurrence had once put off an expedition to *Khurāsān*. But *Humāyūn* got over the argument by observing that the *Uzbaks* were his enemies and that so what was a bad sign for them was a good one for him. *Aibak* was taken after a short resistance and *Khwāja Bāgh*, the guardian of *Pir Muḥammad*, the ruler of *Balkh*, was made prisoner. *Humāyūn* took the singular step of asking the *Khwāja* how he should proceed in order to be successful in his expedition against *Balkh*. The *Khwāja* naturally replied that he was an enemy and so his opinion should not be taken, but *Humāyūn* persisted, saying, that the *Uzbaks* were honest men and

would tell the truth, and that the Khwāja was the most honest of his countrymen. On this Khwāja Bāgh gave him the disinterested advice to cut off the heads of all his prisoners including himself. Humāyūn's answer was that they were all Musulmāns and that he could not put to death so many of his co-religionists. The Khwāja then proposed a treaty with Pir Muḥammad, but Humāyūn also rejected this suggestion. He then continued his march *viā* Khulm to Balkh. At first his enterprise seemed likely to be successful, but his soldiers got discouraged by the continued absence of Kāmṛān and apprehended that Kāmṛān would attack Kābul in their absence, and get possession of their families who had been left behind in that city. So when victory was apparently within their grasp the invaders retreated southwards to Dera Gaz. The attempt to execute a change of position in the face of an enemy had the same disastrous effect that followed a similar manœuvre before the battle of Qanauj. The retreat became a flight, and Humāyūn had much difficulty in effecting his escape. The hardships he encountered on the way back to Kābul are minutely described by Bāyazīd, but he has not the descriptive power of Bābar or even of Jauhar, and he seems too anxious to magnify his own performances. As Erskine remarks in his MS. translation, (p. 47), Bāyazīd is much the hero of his own tale. One extract, p. 49b, may however be given.

"When we came to the foot of the Sih Paj Pass, which is one of the passes in the Hindū Kush, his Majesty halted and said that for some days he had not slept. He then laid his blessed head on Mādar¹ Sultān's knees and told him to sing him to sleep by repeating anything he knew. Mādar begged that Bāyazīd might be ordered to join his voice, and Bāyazīd did so. As his Majesty had represented that he was hungry, Bāyazīd endeavoured to get him some food. There was a shield which had been cast aside as out of repair. It had a steel boss and Bāyazīd made ready on it some horse-flesh and a stew and presented it to his Majesty when he awoke. He partook of it and often said afterwards in Kābul that he had never eaten anything so delicious as that dish (*āsh*)."¹ Humāyūn returned to Kābul on 1st Ramāzān, 956, (23rd September, 1549), in time to save the city from being taken by Kāmṛān. With this event Bāyazīd concludes the second chapter of his Memoirs.

The third chapter begins with an account of the defeat of Humāyūn by Kāmṛān in the Qipcāq Valley. Humāyūn was wounded in this engagement and had to retire to the hills, while Kāmṛān followed

¹ Erskine renders this "mother of Sultān," but it is hardly likely that any women were with the party.

up his success by taking Kābul which now fell into his possession for the third time.

The next event recorded is the negotiation for Humāyūn's marriage with Shāhzāda Khānam, the daughter of Mirzā Sulaimān of Badakhshān. The story is told at wearisome length, the only interest in it being the revelation of the haughty and masterful character of Ḥaram (or Khānam) Bēgam, the wife of Sulaimān. She was indignant that persons of such inferior rank as Khwāja Jalālu-d-din and Bibi Fāṭima should be sent to demand the hand of her daughter, and tauntingly told Fāṭima that her business in Kābul was the enticing away of men's daughters. "Did you think of getting my daughter in that way?" she said. "Why has none of the Bēgams or Āghācas come; if my daughter's name is not great, the reputation of his Majesty the king is great." Ḥaram became mollified after a while and sent a message to Humāyūn that she would be proud to give him her daughter if he came for her. Presumably the marriage never took place for we hear no more of it, and the fact that Ḥaram's son Ibrāhīm was afterwards married to Humāyūn's daughter, Bakhshī Bānū, would surely prevent a marriage between Humāyūn and Ibrāhīm's sister. Ḥaram in her message to Humāyūn spoke of his traversing the defiles of the Hindū Kush and this leads Bāyazīd to observe (p. 59a) that the name of these mountains was changed to Hindū Kōh by Akbar in 994, (1586), because he perceived that the range extended from the limits of Bengal to the borders of Tabriz, and because the shrines of Tabriz saints are to be found on its slopes.¹

After this comes the account of the night attack by Kāmrān on Humāyūn's camp and the death of Mirzā Hindāl. Bāyazīd records the cynical remark made by Mun'im Khān upon this event. Coming up to Humāyūn, he inquired why he was weeping. "Because I have heard that Mirzā Hindāl has been martyred," replied Humāyūn. "You lament your own good," said Mun'im, "you have one enemy less." Upon this his Majesty stinted his tears. Hindāl's death took place in 958, (1551), and the word "Shabkhūn," (night attack) gives the chronogram. Here Bāyazīd digresses to tell a story about Akbar, belonging to this year. The young prince was having his lessons with the son of Mullā Ḥisāmu-d-dīn, a famous doctor of Samarqand, in a tent in his mother's

¹ Bāyazīd adds a "God knows," to this rather unintelligible explanation. There are Tombs of Tabriz Saints in India, *e. g.*, of Jalālu-d-dīn at Pandūa, in the Maldā district. Akbar may have thought of him because his own name was Jalālu-d-dīn and may have thought that by calling the range Hindū-Kōh he was grounding a claim to it. At all events, this fact that he invented the name Hindū-kōh is interesting.

garden. Mun'im came there to pay his respects, and the child put up his foster-brother, Adham Kōka to ask for a holiday. Mun'im made the desired request to the teacher, and as he was then prime minister and all-powerful, the tutor at once gave Akbar his liberty. This came to Humāyūn's ears and next day when Shamsu-d-din Atka brought Akbar to salute his father, Humāyūn observed to the child, "Yesterday you got Hāji Muḥammad Sultān to ask your teacher to set you free, do not such a thing again." When the prince had gone back to his school, Humāyūn turned to Mun'im Khān and said "I heard that you got him the holiday, but I mentioned the name of Hāji Muḥammad to my son because he is yet young and possibly it might remain in his heart 'Mun'im Khān got me a holiday, and then told the king' and this might lead to your harm some day when I am no longer here. As for Hāji Muḥammad, he is a man without any decency and so deserves any harm that may come to him."

Bāyazīd adds that he heard this story in Jaunpūr in 978 (1570-71) when Mun'im Khān was Khān-khānān.

Bāyazīd describes the blinding of Kāmraṇ but he was not present on the occasion and his narrative is by no means so detailed as that of Jauhar. He, however, gives a most affecting description of the interview between the two brothers afterwards when they met at midnight, and the blind Kāmraṇ was led out as far as the tent-ropes to meet Humāyūn. But it has been so well translated in Erskine's History (II, 416), that it is unnecessary to repeat the account. I shall only remark that what Kāmraṇ said to the bystanders after acknowledging that his misfortunes were due to his own fault is somewhat different in Bāyazīd from Mr. Erskine's rendering. According to the latter, Kāmraṇ said, "If it be known that his Majesty has shown favour to me, let it also be known how little I have deserved it." Apparently what Kāmraṇ said was, (Bāyazīd 64b) "If people consider that his Majesty has dealt kindly by me, I attest the fact." (*man sijil kardam*). Mun'im Khān was now appointed guardian of Akbar. He took him to Jūi Shāhi, which is the old name of Jalālābād. The Jalālābād fort was built by Mun'im Khān and received its name in compliment to Akbar, (one of whose names was Jalālu-d-dīn), and who got Jūi Shāhi as his appanage in succession to his uncle Hindāl, whose daughter also he married. Bāyazīd gives the chronogram of the building of Jalālābād, which also served, with the addition of one letter, for the date of the building of the Jaunpūr bridge ten years later. One Qāsim Arslān was the composer of the chronograms but they do not seem to be correctly given in the MS. Apparently they should run *Bānīy-i-ō ān Mun'im Khān*, and *Bānīy-i-ō in Mun'im Khān* which would give respectively 972 and 982.

Bāyazīd was now in the service of Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd of Aubah, as his *sāmān* or butler and he relates how Jalālu-d-dīn sent him from Kābul to Jalālābād with a quantity of ice, grapes, *riwāj*, lemonade and sugar-candy, as a present to Akbar. In spite of the heat of Jalālābād, he says, the ice arrived intact as the box had bran in it and was wrapt in felt. Akbar was highly delighted with the ice, ate a portion, and had some put into his water bottle, and also distributed it to his officers. He then questioned Bāyazīd about public affairs. Bāyazīd had brought a letter from Jalālu-d-dīn in which he asked where Akbar would take up his quarters when he came to Kābul. Akbar asked Bāyazīd what season it was in Kābul, and when he replied that the white roses were in bloom in the *Shāh Ārāi* garden, Akbar ordered that his dinner should be prepared in that place. Afterwards Akbar proceeded to the *Bāgh Wafā* at Adānīpur, which was a famous garden made by his grandfather, and again questioned Bāyazīd about public affairs, and about Balkh and Samarqand. He wrote a reply to Jalālu-d-dīn and Bāyazīd went off in the evening with it to Kābul. He travelled with great expedition for he arrived next day on the *Shab-i-barāt*, (6th August, 1552), before the people had lighted up for the festival. This was good going as the distance (from Adānīpur) is about 180 miles and he tells us that old soldiers were astonished at his coming so quickly. He was alone too, and the roads were bad. He now gives a cook's chronicle of how he prepared dinner for Akbar in the *Awarta Bāgh* (? middle garden) and how Akbar arrived next day at noon and was regaled by him with pheasants' wings (*qūl-i-qairgha*) and how the prince sent the remainder of the birds to the Bēgams.

At p. 69b. Bāyazīd incidentally mentions that Mun'im *Khān*'s father, Miram Bēg, was guardian of Mirzā 'Askari, and had charge of Qandahār, and that on the occasion of an attack by the Hazāras he sacrificed his own life in order to let the prince escape. This is a valuable supplement to Blochmann's account of Mun'im *Khān* which says (p. 317) that nothing appears to be known of the circumstances of Mun'im's father, Miram (or Bairām) Bēg.

At p. 72a we have it recorded that in the spring of 960, (1553), two sons were born to Humāyūn in one month. One was Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who was afterwards ruler of Kābul, and whose mother was Cūcak Bēgam, and the other was Muḥammad Farkh Fāl whose mother was *Khānīsh*, the daughter of Cacaq Mirzā of *Khawārizm*, but who only survived for a few days.

The fourth chapter of the *Memoirs* commences with a very full list of the officers who accompanied Humāyūn, Akbar, and Bairām to India.

From p. 77b we learn that Bāyazīd left without notice the service of Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn on account of some injury which he received from the Khwāja's brother. He went to Bangash where 'Alī Qulī Shāibānī was, whom he had known in his childhood at Tabriz, but eventually he proceeded to Kābul and became the servant of Mun'im Khān. The brother of the Khwāja here referred to was Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd who was afterwards put to death along with his elder brother,¹ by Mun'im Khān. See *Ma'aṣiru-l-umārā* I. 617.

For several pages after this the Memoirs are occupied with an account of the siege of Kābul by Sulaimān Mirzā of Badakhshān, and his son Ibrāhīm. It seems that on Humāyūn's death Sulaimān considered that as the oldest member of the great Timūr's family he was entitled to a share in Humāyūn's dominions. Bāyazīd, according to his own account, took a prominent part in repelling the attack, and was wounded by an arrow. Sulaimān did not take the town, but a compromise was made whereby his *Imām* was allowed to read the *khutba* in his name for one day in Kābul.²

At p. 87b we are told that Mun'im Khān came out of Kābul as soon as the siege was over and proceeded towards Bāgh-dih-afghānān. On the way—in front of the royal baths—he met Khwāja Mirakī, the *diwān* of Maryam-makānī, who had stayed outside during the siege and had sided with Mirzā Sulaimān. Mun'im at once had him pulled off his horse and hanged at the door (*ishak*) of a costermonger's shop. The interest of this entry lies in the fact that Khwāja Mirakī was the grandfather of Nizāmu-d-dīn the historian.

P. 88a tells that Sultān 'Ādilī, the successor of Sikandar, died near Allāhābād, and that the famous Hēmū vowed to God that if he defeated the Mughuls he would become a Musulmān. On the next page Bāyazīd expresses his satisfaction that God erased from the infidel's heart the recollection of this vow after he had defeated Tardī Bēg. As the glory of Timūr, he says, had descended to Humāyūn, and then been transferred to Akbar, God, on the field of Pānīpat, put forgetfulness of his vow into Hēmū's heart. The same page describes how Bairām Khān put Tardī Bēg to death. He had an old grudge against him, and used his defeat by Hēmū as a pretext for assassinating him. He sent for him, we are told, to his own house, then left the room on pretence of a necessary purpose, and sent in men who put Tardī Bēg to death on the carpeted floor of the *diwānkhāna*. A few pages further on (92a) we are told that the reason for Bairām's dislike of Tardī Bēg

¹ Blochmann calls him the son of Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, 384.

² The account by Nizāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V, 249, may be compared with this.

was that when they were in India together before Humāyūn's expulsion, Bairām, then only Bairām Bēg and the *Muhrdār* (seal-keeper), had wanted to sit on the same carpet (*zūlca*) with Tardi Bēg who was at that time governor of Etāwā, and that the latter had refused to make room for him.

Hēmū's head was sent to Mun'im *Khān* in Afghānistān (at Qūruqsāi) and he sent it on to Bāyazīd at Kābul with instructions to place it over the Iron Gate, and to have the drums of rejoicing beaten. It was 3 or 4 hours of the night when the head arrived and Bāyazīd at once went up to the citadel to give the good news to the Bēgams. They sent out a number of their servants to inquire how it was certain that it really was Hēmū's head, to which Bāyazīd replied by sending them Mun'im *Khān*'s letter to read.

P. 90a tells of Bāyazīd's being sent for and reproved by Maryam-makāni's orders for not clearing out a house for a servant of hers. He pleaded Mun'im *Khān*'s commands and was forgiven. On this occasion Māh Cacak *Khalifa* acted as interpreter or perhaps as go-between. After this the Bēgams, including Salima Sultān and Bika Bēgam went off to India.

P. 93a mentions that Ḥaram Bēgam, the masterful wife of Sulaimān, left Badakhshān on account of some disagreement and came to Kābul. Her husband went to Mun'im begging him to induce her to return. He was successful and Bāyazīd escorted her a part of the way back.

P. 95a records the death of Mirzā Ibrāhīm, son of M. Sulaimān. He and his father, who had been in 72 fights with the Uzbaks and had always been successful, went against Balkh, but this time Ibrāhīm got separated from his father, was taken prisoner and put to death. The date was 966.

P. 98a describes a visit paid by Mun'im *Khān* and other grandees of the Court to the shrine of *Khawāja* Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtyār Kāki on the occasion of the saint's anniversary. The shrine was in old Dihli, *i.e.*, near the Quṭb, which according to some, derives its name from the saint. Quṭbu-d-dīn Kāki was from Ūsh in Farghāna, which perhaps accounts for his popularity with Bābar's descendants, and his anniversary, *i.e.*, the day of his death, is the 27th November. There is a long account of him by Firīshṭa at the end of his history and Abū'l-faḡl has also a paragraph about him, (Jarrett III, 363). Bāyazīd's elder brother, the saint and poet Bahrām Saqqā, was living in New Dihli in the cell of Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya near Humāyūn's tomb, but he too went off to the "Ūras" in the discharge of his self-imposed duty of water-carrying. On his way back he got a fresh attack of

jazaba, (attraction), and was insensible for several hours. Bāyazīd here refers again to his brother's poetry and gives three specimens of it. He says that his brother took to writing verse at the order of Shāh Qāsim Anwar who appeared to him in a dream at Samarqand.

P. 99a. Afzal Khān asked Bāyazīd to try and procure the release of Bairām Khān's *dīwān* Muẓaffar 'Alī Tarbatī who was imprisoned in the house of Darvēsh Muḥammad Khān Uzbek. Bāyazīd mentioned the matter to his master, Mun'im Khān who bade Bāyazīd remind him of the request when he went to Court. Next day when the Khān-khānān (Mūn'im) was in the house of Māham Bēgha, Bāyazīd gave him a reminder. Māham was present and observed that the matter was not of such great importance, and that it was only necessary to send some one to Darwesh Uzbek's house to release Muẓaffar. The Khān-khānān, however, said that his Majesty must first be consulted, whereon Māham volunteered to mention the matter. While they were talking, Akbar came in from the chase, and after borrowing a needle from Takhta, the mother of Dastam Khān,¹ proceeded to extract the thorns, which had got into his feet in the jungle. Māham represented Muẓaffar's case and his Majesty granted the prayer and added that Muẓaffar was reported to be able to write *tughrā* and that the Khān-khānān might, if he liked, take him into his employment. Akbar, we are told, was highly pleased with the Khān-khānān for not acting in even such a small matter as the release of Muẓaffar without consulting him.

In pp. 100-101 we have a description of a game of cards at which Akbar was present. Bāyazīd played the game on board a boat with Muqīm Qara. Bāyazīd won, and as Muqīm had no money to pay his losses, Bāyazīd stopped playing. Thereupon Muqīm had to pledge his *pōstīn* or great coat and to sit playing in the cold. Mr. Erskine remarks that the joke seems to have consisted in Muqīm's suffering from the cold. At 101b we are told of Māham Bēgha's kindness to the author and of her giving him a house in Agra. There was a *nīm* tree in the grounds and Bahrām Saqqā, his brother, got him to put up a *saqqī-khāna* or water-house under it. Darvēsh Naẓir, one of the Saqqā's disciples, put up a *saqqī-khāna* at the Fort Gate, and when Akbar rode out he used to take a drink, and also used to listen to recitations from the Saqqā's *Dīwān*.

P. 102a tells a story about Akbar's sending for eighteen rupees of which the only point seems to be the exhibition of Māham Anaga or Bēgha as a sort of centre of affairs. Akbar sent a eunuch to Khawāja Jahān for the money. He and other officers were in attendance on Māham Bēgha, and he peevishly said to the messenger "from

¹ Blochmann, 398.

whose *jāgīr* shall I take it?" Māham got over the difficulty by telling *Takhlā*, the mother of Dastam, to fetch the money from her Turkish waiting woman. Akbar was at this time, (968, 1561), devoted to the amusement of cock-fighting and in connection with this we are told a story about *Shamsu-d-din Atka*. This again is prefaced by a reference to Akbar's¹ orders that every one should shave their beards. *Shamsu-d-din's* beard (or perhaps his hair) was not long but still he had not cut it in accordance with the royal orders which he had only received when on his way from the Pānjāb. Akbar remarked upon this, and *Shamsu-d-din* replied by way of jest, that his hair had been longish but that when he came to Muttra, he had had it cut after the fashion of the Hindūs of that place. The courtiers applauded the joke, the point of which was its allusion to Akbar's Hindū proclivities. At this time it was the custom that every one who came to pay his respects, should bring a game-cock and Akbar told *Shamsu-d-din* that he must do the same. Next day *Shamsu-d-din* appeared, but without a game-cock. When however Akbar noticed this *Shamsu-d-din* replied that he had one. "Where?" said Akbar, and *Shamsu-d-din* answered "under my arm." Akbar signed to the attendants to search if this was so, and when they did so the bird set up a crow. Akbar now ordered a certain cock of his to be brought. "Let it be a fighting one," remarked *Shamsu-d-din*, "for mine is famous in Lāhor." When the royal game-cock was brought, *Shamsu-d-din* uncovered his and it was found to be a hen bird (*Mākiyān*). The two birds, the cock and the hen, fought and Akbar was greatly delighted.

In the end of 968, (August 1561), there was a hurricane (*jikar*, dust-storm, Vullers *s.v.*) in Agra and the bridge of boats was broken. A fire too broke out in the carpet-house (*farāsh-khāna*) of Māham Bēgha, and some of Akbar's dancing girls who lodged near it were burnt. The *Khān-khānān* went to condole with Akbar who seemingly was cynical enough to say that the burning of the girls was a small matter (*sahl ast*) and that they should go and console Māham for the loss of her property. This is followed by a story of how Akbar was unable to get his horse across the river owing to one of the pontoons having got detached, and how Bāyazīd, who is rather fond of blowing his own trumpet, contrived to make the horse jump across the gap.

P. 104a describes an entertainment given by the *Khān-khānān* when the guests took opium and also "coloured their teeth," (*dandān*

¹ See Blochmann, 193 and Badāonī II. 303. But Bāyazīd's phrase is *hukm-i-mūy-i-sar guzāsh-tan* and perhaps this means to leave the hair loose.

rang kardand). Erskine supposes (in his translation) that this is a euphemism for drinking wine. It may also refer to the eating of betel or to smoking. Evidently it was something unusual or improper, for Bāyazīd excuses himself for joining in the teeth-colouring by saying that he always tried to go in for good fellowship.

P. 105*a* records that Bāyazīd got the title of Sultān from Akbar.

P. 105*b* describes the assassination of Shamsu-d-dīn by Adham Khān. When Akbar was roused by the noise and came and saw the body and Adham, he called the latter *kāndū*, (filth), or perhaps *gāṇḍū*, (sodomite), and struck him a blow on the ear and stunned him. (According to Abu'l-faḡl the expression used by Akbar was "son of a bitch"). After putting Adham to death, Akbar went to Māham's house and said to her "Māmā, we have killed Adham." Shortly afterwards he put his uncle, Khawāja Mu'azzam to death for murdering his wife. A few days later Akbar had a conversation with the Khān-khānān, and asked him what the people said of his reign. The Khān-khānān replied, "My king, (may you live 120 years!) the people love you and admire your perfect justice in killing Adham Khān for the murder of the Atka, and in putting to death Mu'azzam Sultān for murdering the daughter of Bibi Fāṭima." His Majesty rejoined, "I have done something better than this; it is strange that you don't mention it, but you know it all the same, though from certain considerations you don't refer to it." "What thing is it," said the Khān Khānān, "that I know and from certain considerations do not speak of?" Akbar replied, "What I have done better is this, that I have brought all the Atka's relations from Lāhor, and have scattered them like the stars of the 'Daughters of the Bear,'¹ giving them fiefs all over Hindūstān."²

The Memoirs now become rather tedious and uninteresting, though here and there we can glean valuable information.

At p. 108*b*, we have a reference to one Jabār Bardī Bēg who had served under Bābar and had for many years been a *darwēsh* and had settled in Badakhshān. He was now returning thither after visiting the tomb of Humāyūn. Many pages are taken up with an account of Mun'im Khān's return to Kābul and his defeat at Jalālābād. At p. 117*b*,

¹ The expression is *dar rang-i-banātu-n-na'ṣh parishān kardā haryakrā bahar gōsha-i-Hindūstān jāgir farmāda im*. *Binātu-n-na'ṣh* is the Arabic name for the constellation of the Great Bear whose stars stand apart and are not clustered like those of the Pleiades.

² Probably Akbar thought that Mun'im did not refer to this act of justice or generosity because there was an old quarrel between Mun'im and the Atka and it was even supposed that Mun'im was the instigator of the murder. See Blochmann, p. 321.

there is a reference to one Mirzā Shāh, the son of Jannat-āshiyānī. However this is not Humāyūn but a prince of the Deccan. There is a long account of Abū-l-māili. This man killed his mother-in-law, Māham Cūcak, the wife of Humāyūn and mother of Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He was afterwards made prisoner by Sulaimān and put to death by Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

P. 122*b* speaks of a woman named Āghā Sarw-qad (cypress-form) who was formerly in the harem of Bābar and was now apparently the wife or mistress of Mun'im Khān. She came from Khān Zamān's camp to Mun'im's in the capacity of a spy or go-between.

P. 124*b*. We read of Akbar's hunting elephants near Cunār, just as his grandfather had done.

P. 128*b*. Bāyazīd repairs a *ṣaffa* or portico in Benares which had been erected by Humāyūn.

P. 130*a* gives an account of one of Akbar's meetings for religious debates. The *mullās* of Rūm (*mullāyān-i-rūm*) are mentioned as having been present, and probably this means Romish priests. One [Mirzā Muffis—a kingdom-less prince, and who is said to have been an adept at logic,—was present and was being pressed with a question by 'Abdu-l-lāh Sultānpūri. His rival Shaiikh 'Abdu-n-nabī was also there, and in his turn propounded a question to the Prince. The latter who had not replied to 'Abdu-l-lāh's question, and was probably posed by it, (see Lowe's *Badāonī*, 190) seems to have lost his temper and cried to 'Abdu-n-nabī "Slave (*Ghulām-i-kor*)! be a little patient till I have answered the big slave, and then I will answer you." Mirzā Muffis, (to whom there is a reference in Blochmann, 541), went to Mecca and died there in 989, (1581), and Bāyazīd witnessed his interment.

P. 131*a*. tells of the wonderful feat of a man called Mir Faridūn, who had some years before swallowed eighty miṣqāls of *baras* or *barash* (an intoxicating drug or drink made apparently from Indian hemp) and who now, to please the Khān-khānān and his friends took 140 miṣqāls of the stuff. He also drank *Kōknār* (a preparation of opium) instead of water, and yet for several nights remained in company, and acted as if the drugs had no effect on him.

P. 132*a*. Bāyazīd came to grief, very deservedly for destroying a Hindū temple at Benares with pillars bearing an inscription 760 years old. He converted the building into a Madrasa, etc. Rāja Todar Mal was annoyed at this and got the inhabitants to complain against him. The result was that Bāyazīd lost his appointment and was for several years a *darwēsh*. After some years he became Mir Māl or keeper of the Seal (Blochmann VI), and subsequently he was made governor of Cunār.

P. 135a. has mention of Rājā Gaṇpati, (Blochmann, 399), who is called Rājā of the country of Acīna (اچينا ?) and is said to have held the *jāgīr* of Būjpūr and Bihīya, &c., extending over both banks of the Ganges. At that time he was loyal.

P. 147a. Gives an account of Mun'im Khān's removing his headquarters from Tānda to Gaur (which Bāyazīd also calls Bangāla), and of the pestilence which broke out there. He says that the nature of the country is such that a pestilence (*wabā*) breaks out there every thirty years (*qarn*) and that on this occasion the plague was assisted by drunkenness (*kuif*). Mun'im Khān was himself a victim, dying there, according to Bāyazīd on the night of Monday, 18 Rajāb 982.¹ On the same night Muẓaffar, the deposed king of Gujrāt, and who afterwards escaped and gave Akbar so much trouble, arrived at Gaur, having been sent there by Bāyazīd from Cunār according to Mun'im's orders. Bāyazīd tells how he himself went afterwards to Gaur and of the difficulty he had in taking charge of Mun'im's property. In this connection he mentions the names of two women, *viz.*, Sēōr (Sarw) Aghā, Mun'im's widow, whom he describes as a reliable woman and one who had been in the harem of Bābar and Humāyūn, and another lady who was the mother of Khwāja Shāh Maṣṣūr, who was Mun'im's *bakhshī*. Bāyazīd said he had no wish after Mun'im's death to remain on active service. He gave up his post of governor of Cunār but held for a time the position of *dārūgha* of the Treasury. In the beginning of 986, (March 1578), he got leave to go to Mecca and left for that place with his wife and children. He was, however, detained for two years in Sūrat on account of a charge of malversation which was brought against him by his enemies. He got over this difficulty and was able to go to Daman, but there he had fresh troubles with the Portuguese and had to pay a heavy ransom before he was allowed to sail. They reached Aden in fourteen days and there a small boat came out to them, which had been sent by Gulbadan Bēgam and other ladies who had been to Mecca and were on their return. Bāyazīd sent the Bēgams news of India, &c. He spent a considerable time in Mecca, and lost his wife and one of his sons there. He buried mother and child in one grave, and occupied it himself for one or two hours so that it should not be too small or narrow. He sent his other children home, hoping that he himself should end his days in Mecca and might be laid beside his wife. But he had to return to India in consequence of hearing that his family had been made prisoner by the Portuguese at Daman. He left in 990, (1582), but had to wait long in Mocha harbour for a favourable wind. At last the "olive season" (*mausim-i-zaitūnī*)

¹ It should be 983. The English date is 23rd October, 1575.

came and brought a wind and they were just about to start when a boat called a "*tāwarī*" (see Blochmann, 241) came in from Diu and reported that all Gujrat was in a blaze owing to the insurrection of Muzaḥfar. In this extremity Bāyazīd consoled himself and his friend as they were sitting in the ship's cabin (*dabūs*) by taking an omen from Ḥāfiẓ, the result of which was to satisfy them that the descendants of Humāyūn would eventually prevail. He was eight months on board ship and after a voyage of two months arrived at the port of Kūda (qr. Gōdhri, or perhaps Ghoga). Bāyazīd was in danger here but ultimately escaped to Sūrat. Apparently Muzaḥfar let him go on account of their old acquaintance when Muzaḥfar was his prisoner at Cunār. He liked the climate of Sūrat and was willing to stay there but his sons Sa'adat Yār and Iftikḥār who were in Akbar's service, wrote to him that the Emperor was expecting him. He therefore waited upon Akbar in Fathpūr Sikrī in the end of 992, (December 1584), and was graciously received, getting a house and the *pargana* of Sanān, for which however he was to pay a rental of 14½ lakhs. Rājā Todar Mal did not like Bāyazīd and tried to screw a higher rental out of him. He got the *pargana* in partnership with his sons, and apparently it was not lucrative.

In 994, (1586), Bāyazīd was raised to the rank of a *manṣab* of 200¹ and next year he was made Steward (*bakāwal*) and chamberlain (*īshāq āghā*). But he was soon after attacked with paralysis and had to give up all his appointments. But in 998 he returned to work and was made a Treasury *dārōgha* and *amīn*. In 999 Akbar gave him (probably in consideration of his bodily infirmity) permission to sit in the royal presence, and declared before a number of courtiers that Bāyazīd was an honest man and had served the state for nearly two *qarn*, i.e., for 60 years. The Memoirs were completed on Sunday, 1st Ramaẓān, 999, (13th June, 1591), and with this statement and some verses the book closes. Previous to this Bāyazīd describes some buildings that he erected at Lāhōr, and gives an account of the distribution of copies of his book.

¹ He must have got further promotion for Abu'l-faẓl, (Blochmann, 501), ranks him among the commanders of 300. Probably this was when he became Bakāwal Bēg in 995.

The Cāṭēṣvara Inscription of Anagga-bhīma II of Orissa.—
By NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU, Editor, Viṣvakōṣa.

[Read August, 1898.]

In my article on the copper-plate grant of Nṛsimha Dēva II. of Orissa, read in May, 1896, in our Society's meeting, I merely alluded to this Inscription, expressing, however, my desire to publish it in full in a later issue. Now, compliant to that promise, I bring in my present article.

This Inscription, which was first noticed in the Viṣvakōṣa¹ in 1894, is incised on a stone-slab in the temple of Cāṭēṣvara (or Āiva) at Kisnapur village in the Padmapur Pargana, District Cuttack, and situated nearly 12 miles north-east from the town of Cuttack and 2 miles to the north of the road from Cuttack to Chandbali. On both sides of this large temple, there are other temples of smaller size dedicated to Kṛṣṇa-Rādhikā and Pārvatī, but these latter from their very appearance and architecture are evidently of a later period than that of Cāṭēṣvara. From the resemblance of architecture the temple of Cāṭēṣvara may be classed as coeval with other temples, built in several places of Orissa during the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. The whole temple is built uniformly of basalt stone locally called *baul-mālā*. The ornamental beauty and superior workmanship of the architect, are not a little exhibited in the temple, but much of its former beauty is, for want of repair, in gradual decay. The interior of this high temple is all dark, and now affords an unmolested habitation for innumerable bats, through the callous indifference of its votaries. In the sanctum of the temple, there is a deep excavation in which lies the Liṅga immersed in perpetual waters, save at the time of festivals when the water being drawn out the Liṅga makes its appearance.

A few people now inhabit the village Kisnapur, and they too, for the most part of them, are *Bhōpas*, i.e., votaries to the God Cāṭēṣvara. Formerly the temple of Cāṭēṣvara had been vested with a large

¹ See Viṣvakōṣa, Vol. VI, p. 229.

dēvōttara property, but the votaries had alienated a great part of it, and consequently the income having greatly deteriorated, no longer are the offerings and ceremonies conducted in their former grand scale. One thousand bighas of land and 300 *bhuraṇas* of paddy per year, are all that now exist to defray the expenses of the temple. A considerable sum is added to the income by the gifts from the visitors, during the two festivals of the *Çivarātri* and the lunar *Caturdaçi* of the bright fortnight in the month of *Kārtika*, when a vast concourse of people floods into the place.

The tradition as to the origin of the temple, runs as follows:—

The site, on which the temple of *Cāṭēṣvara* now stands, was a tank. In the vicinity, a village school-master taught his pupils, in his little *Cāṭaṣālā*, i.e., school. *Mahādēva*, the great god, himself came in the guise of a *cāṭa*, i.e. pupil, and began to learn with other boys. Now, all the other boys had to be harassed much for their school fees, and paid them after several demands made; but *Mahādēva*, the disguised *cāṭa* paid even before the first demand. Moreover, he would not be prevailed upon to disclose his parentage even at the injunction of the school-master. Doubts now began to grow deep in the mind of the teacher, as to the identity of this extraordinary boy, and one evening he secretly followed the *cāṭa*, when returning from the *Cāṭaṣālā*. Then to his great astonishment the boy came direct to the tank, and to the ecstasy of surprise of the beholding teacher, plunged into the waters and disappeared! The night following, the teacher was visited by *Mahādēva* in a dream and addressed to the following effect:—"I was hitherto learning of you with a view to reveal my greatness, go and celebrate my name to the world, henceforth I shall be called *Cāṭēṣvara*, the divine pupil." After this miracle, many came to study there and went out profound scholars. By and by, the fame of the virtue of this place reached the ears of the *Utkala-rāja*, who thereupon, caused the tank to be filled with earth, erected the beautiful temple upon it, established the present *Cāṭēṣvara-Liṅga* within the temple, and dedicated a vast property towards its maintenance.

In this temple, we find an inscribed slab, bearing the inscription of *Anaga-bhīma II* of Orissa, which forms the subject-matter of my present article. On the 7th of November, 1893, I went there with my friend *Artatrāṇa Miçra* of *Maudā*, to visit the temple of *Cāṭēṣvara*. The votaries at our request brought the inscribed slab out of the temple and placed it upon the outer door. The darkness of the night was then fast approaching upon us, and I hurriedly took some rubbings of the inscription in pencil. Subsequently, however, another set of tracing of the same has reached my hand.

The size of this slab is 32.5" × 22". The average size of the letters is $\frac{5}{8}$ " × $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Inscription is in 25 lines, running through the entire length of the slab leaving a margin only of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches on all sides. The letters belong to the ancient Bengali type of Kuṭila character, and resemble much the characters of the Mēghṣvara Inscription published in this Journal for 1897, and those of the Brahmṣvara Inscription, published in our Society's Journal, by Mr. Prinsep.¹

The Inscription was written by a poet named Bhāskara, the principal object of it being to record the erection of a Śiva temple (of Cātēṣvara) by Ananṅa-bhīma II.

The language is high-flown Sanskrit and generally correct.

As regards orthography;—the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; *p*, *y* and *v* are sometimes doubled with the superscript sign *r*, e.g. in lines 2, 3 and 4. A curious mistake is committed in line 16, where *thaddiggajah* is written for *yaddiggajah*.

Opening with the words "Om adoration to Śiva," the Inscription first invokes the ocean as the abode of Viṣṇu and the birth-place of the Moon, who adorns the crest of Mahādēva. It then glorifies the family of Cōḍagaṅga born in the lunar dynasty, and gives the following list of Kings:—(1) Cōḍagaṅga, (2) his son Ananṅa-bhīma I., (3) his son Rājendra (Rājarāja), and (4) his son Ananṅa-bhīma II., together with the names of two distinguished ministers, namely Gōvinda of the Vatsa Gōtra and the renowned Viṣṇu, the terrible foe of the Muhammadan ruler Tumghāna (Tughril-i-tughān Khān).²

Transcript.

L. 1.

ॐ नमः शिवाय ।

स यस्मिन् मैनाकः स्मरति जनकक्रोडललितं

यदन्तः श्रीकान्तः श्रयति गृहजामाटपदवीं ।

सुरेभ्यस्तन्मश्रयसनमनुभूय व्यधित य-

स्वधासर्वं सोयञ्जयति सरि-

L. 2.

तामेकसुभगः ॥³ [1]

तस्मादभूद्विस्मयमादधानः

कलानिधिर्विश्वविलोचनानां ।

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, Plate XXIV.

² See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 740-63, and my article on the copper-plate grant of Nṛsiṃha Dēva II., J. A. S. B., Vol. LXV, Pt. I, pp. 233-34.

³ Metre : Qikharipi.

यमर्पयामास गुणानुरागा-

नेत्रे मुरारिमुकुटे पुरारिः ॥¹ [2]

भूपास्तस्माद्भूवर्त्विहमरसमरोदच्चदास्त्रय्यवीर्य-
ज्यो-

L. 3. तिर्ज्जालावलीढप्रतिभटकरटिस्थानदानप्रवन्धाः ।
येषाङ्गीर्त्तिप्रवाहैः प्रतिपदमुदयत्स्वर्द्धनीसङ्गसौख्य-
प्रेङ्गत्कल्लोलकेलिः कलयति जलधिस्तानि लीलायितानि ॥² [3]
तेषाम्बंशे विशदयशासा-

L. 4. चोडगङ्गक्षितौन्त्र-
थाजयत्तं नरहृरितनोर्ज्ज्जातिराविर्वेभूव ।
दर्पोद्दामद्विपमदनदीतीर्थसंन्यासिनो य-
न्निस्त्रिंशेन प्रतिवृत्तयः प्रापिता मोक्षलक्ष्मीं ॥³ [4]
धम्मिल्लं करपल्लवे कलितवान् प्रागेव वै-

L. 5. रिश्रियः
स्मेरामर्दतरङ्गितेन मनसा निस्त्रिंशवल्लीन्ततः ।
चक्रे वैरिवधूजनस्तनतटीर्थौ मुक्तमुक्ताः पुरः
पञ्चादुद्धरगन्धसिन्धुरमदप्रस्यन्दिगण्डस्थलीः ॥⁴ [5]
यत्कल्लोलितमण्डलायकुटिलाटोपस्तु-

L. 6. रत्नाध्वसै-
र्यद्वाणप्रकरप्रहारतरलैः प्रत्यर्थिभिः पार्थिवैः ।
चण्डांशोर्दिर्वि मण्डलायपटलं निर्भिद्य तन्मन्युना
मन्ये निर्दतिगर्वितैरनुष्टतो निर्वाणसीमारसः ॥ [6]
आसीत्

L. 7. स्तनुरनङ्गभीमनृपतिः पुण्यातपत्रं ततो
न स्पृष्टः कलिकालकस्मयमसौकल्लोललीलायितैः ।
कोयं मन्त्रकलापदुर्मदकरिष्यूहं विद्यायामुना
श्रद्धामेकपदे नृपे कलयता साम्राज्यमासादितं ॥⁵ [7]
खैरश्रुति-

¹ Metre: Upajāti.

² Metre: Sragdharā.

³ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

⁴ Metre: Ġārdūla-vikrīḍita, and of the following verse.

⁵ Metre, Sragdharā.

L. 8. त्रयगवीभिरुपास्यमानो

गोविन्द इत्यजनि वत्सकुले द्विजेन्द्रः ।

राज्ञः क एष महिमा यदसावनेन

साम्राज्यभारवहने विदधे धुरीणः ॥¹ [8]

सेवानतप्रतिमहौपतिकेशपाश-

शैवालवल्लिशिख-

L. 9. रे नखराजहंसाः ।

यत्पादपङ्कजगृह्णामिणः स्वपन्ति

राजेन्द्र इत्यजनि तेन ततः क्षितीन्द्रः ॥ [9]

जज्ञेऽसौ तमगङ्गाभीमनृपतिं यस्य प्रतापानलः

ज्वालासंवर्जितैः सुवर्णशिखरीघ्रातिद्रवत्वं

L. 10. यदि ।

आदायैगमहर्निशं यदि घना मुञ्चन्ति धारौकरा

नाशाः पूरयितुं तथापि विजयी यद्दानकेलिक्रमः ॥² [10]

त्रैलोक्यं विमलीकरोति यदि तत्कौर्त्तिमुं धासुर्द्धुनी

कण्ठे चेत् विलुठन्ति

L. 11. तद्भगवितयो धिङ्मौक्तिकानां खजः ।

यत् पादाजनखद्युतिव्यतिकरैर्भूमाविधिर्यद्वभुत्

प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालभालफलके कः पट्टवन्धग्रहः ॥ [11]

तस्याथ क्षितिपालभालवङ्गभीनिद्रालु-

L. 12. पादाङ्गुले

विष्णुर्विष्णुरिवापरः कलितवान् साचिव्यमथाहृतं ।

श्वेतच्छत्रशतानि यस्य यशसा निर्माय किं द्रूमहे

साम्राज्यं त्रिकलिङ्गनाथनृपतेरेकातपचीकृतम् ॥ [12]

ये याताः शरणं

L. 13. रणाङ्गणशिरस्सुन्यस्तशस्त्राः पुरो

धैर्वा दुर्दमदोर्विलासरसिकैरुत्खातखड्गैः स्थितं ।

आश्चर्यं यदमौदयेपि न चिरादासाद्य विष्णोः यदं

प्राप्ता निर्भरनिर्दृतिप्रणयितां प्र-

¹ Metro, Vasanta-tilaka; and of the next verse.

² Metro, Gārdūla-vikrīḍita; and of the next five verses.

L. 14.

त्यर्थिनः पार्थिवाः ॥ [13]

विन्ध्याद्रेरधिसीमभीमतटिनी कुञ्जे तटेम्भोनिधे-
विष्णुर्विष्णुरसावसाविति मयाच्चैतन्दिशः पश्यतः ।
साम्राज्यं सपरिश्रमेण न तथा वैखानसानामिदं
विश्वं

L. 15.

विष्णुमयं यथा परिणतं तुम्हाणष्ट्वीपतेः ॥ [14]

¹कण्ठोत्तंसितसायकस्य सुभटानेकाकिनो निव्रतः
किं ब्रूमो यवनावनीन्दुसमरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतं ।
यस्यालोकनकौतुकव्यसनि-

L. 16.

नां व्योमाङ्गनेनाकिना-

मखप्रैरनिमेषवृत्तिभिरभृन्नेत्रैर्महानुत्सवः ॥ [15]

साहस्रः परितः स्फुरन्ति हरयः खेलन्ति यमजा ²
प्रेक्षुङ्गिः पथिपुण्डरीकपटलैर्दिकचक्रमा-

L. 17.

क्रम्यते ।

सम्बासः कटकेषु मौलिषु पदन्यासः कुलक्ष्माभृतां
वद्धा यत्र न काचिदुत्कलपतेः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीं कृतिः ³ ॥ [16]
क्ष्मापीठं कियदम्बरङ्गियदथ स्वः सौधमेतत् कियत्
दिक्चक्रं किय-

L. 18.

देतदेव कलय ब्रह्माण्डखण्डं कियत् ।

आस्ते यत्र तनोति यत्र चरणं यत्रेदमामोदते
यत्र रह्यति यत्र वा निवसति स्वच्छन्दमेतद् भग्नः ⁴ ॥ [17]
तपनतनयामभ्यादत्तेवतंसयितुं शिवः
कुवलयकुल-

L. 19.

कण्ठोत्तंसेन विभ्रति सुम्भुवः ।

विचकिलवनोत्सङ्गे भङ्गौविदनालिनं स्वनं
जगति जनितश्चेताच्चैते तदा यशोभरिः ⁵ ॥ [18]
अनेन पुरुषोत्तमप्रणयिनीषु वारान्निधे-
स्तटीषु घटितास्तुलापु-

¹ Read कर्णौ ।² Read यद्विगजा ।³ Metre, Sragdharā.⁴ Metre, Gārdūla-vikrīḍita.⁵ Metre, Haripī.

L. 20.

रुषहेमभूमौभृतः ।

विलासवसतीश्रुतं कलयता वलारातिना
 शचीवदनवारिजे तरलिताः स्म लोलं दृशः¹ ॥ [19]
 पश्यान् सरसां श्रुतैस्तत इतस्तेनाङ्गिता यत्तट-
 स्मेराम्भोजगभीरग-

L. 21.

भकुहरध्वस्ताध्वखेदोन्मयः ।

अन्तःसौरभसारश्रीकरमयैः पाथेयभारैरमौ
 मन्दमन्दमनुव्रजन्ति पथिकानाम्बोधिबेलानिलाः² ॥ [20]
 आन्वीक्षिकौकुटिलमैक्षत यं कटाक्षै-
 र्यस्य त्रयी वदनताम्ब-

L. 22.

रसं चुचुम्ब ।

खैरं यदीयहृदये विजहार वार्त्ता
 यं दण्डनीतिरपि निर्भरमालिलिङ्ग³ ॥ [21]
 उदग्रदोषादपथप्रवर्त्तन-
 स्खलद्गतीनिश्रुतिदृष्टिविभ्रमैः ।
 चकार तत्र प्रतिपत्तिसम्प-

L. 23.

दा-

स्पदं पुराणानि पुनर्नवानि यः⁴ ॥ [22]
 कनककलसभारं भारयामास भास्वा-
 नजनि रजनिजानि स्फाटिकः पूर्यकुम्भः ।
 ध्वजपटचटुलश्रौर्यत्र च व्योमगङ्गा
 विरचितममुनेदं धाम

L. 24.

कामान्तकस्य⁵ ॥ [23]

त्रिभुवनभयशान्तिङ्कर्तुमेकार्यवन्त⁶
 ज्ञलजयमिव यावत् कुर्वन्ते पर्वतेन्द्राः ।
 सदनमिदमुदञ्चत्प्रेषपुञ्जप्रतिष्ठा-
 मिह कलयतु तावदीयताञ्च प्रशस्तिः ॥ [24]
 लोक-

¹ Metre, Prthvī.² Metre, Gārdūla-vikrīḍita.³ Metre, Vasanta-tilakā.⁴ Metre, Vaṇcasthavila.⁵ Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.⁶ Not clear.

L. 25.

चतुर्दशममाति यशो यदीयं
विद्याश्चतुर्दश न दृष्यति यस्य बुद्धिः ।

मन्वन्तराण्यपि चतुर्दश यस्य सूक्ति-

र्न स्तानिमेति स कविः किल भास्करोऽस्याः ॥¹ [25]

Translation.

Om! adoration to Īiva!

Verse 1. Hail to the Ocean, the sole lord of all the rivers, where the mount Maināka is enjoying the pleasures of the paternal lap of the Himalayas, where even the lord of Lakṣmī himself lives as a son-in-law in his father-in-law's house, and who has undergone that process of churning as a svadhā sacrifice.²

V. 2. From that ocean was born the moon, the wonder of all eyes, the love for whose virtues procured him a place in the eye of Murāri and on the crest of Purāri.

V. 3. From the moon was born a race of kings, the blazing fire of whose prowess stopped the rutty streams on the foreheads of the elephants of their adversaries in the field of battle; swelled by the streams of their fame, the sea, heaved up at every moment and thus enjoying the pleasures of the companionship of the heavenly river Mandākinī, still displays those sports in wavy frolics.

V. 4. In the line of these sovereigns of renown, the radiant halo of the person of Narahari incarnated itself as King Cōḍagaṅga, whose sword used to give deliverance to the hostile kings, when they turned, so to say, Sannyāsins on the banks of the sacred river, which flowed from the oozings of the elephants in fury of war.

V. 5. Who, in the battle-fields, used to clutch with the palm of his hands, first the locks of the goddess of fortune of his adversaries, and then his sword; who first deprived the breasts of the wives of his enemies, of their pearls, and then deprived the temples oozing juice of rut, of the unruly and maddened elephants, of their pearls.

V. 6. When the hostile kings, frightened by the sharpened arrows of the leader of the noisy army obtained deliverance by his arrows it seemed, as if, to avenge their wrongs, these kings proud of their deliverance, were penetrating through the reign of the sun which travels in the sky and which resembled the king in his fiery character.

¹ Metre, Vāsanta-tilaka.

² Svadhā means oblation offered to the Pitṛs or spirits of deceased ancestors.

V. 7. His son was **Anaṅga-bhīma**, who remained untouched by the ink-like sea of sin of the Kali-yuga; who obtained possession of the empire not by taking to any conspiracy or a host of elephants but by the mere love of other kings.

V. 8. **Gōvinda**, who was superior to other Brāhmaṇs, took his birth in the Vatsa Gōtra. The Vēdas voluntarily served him, *i.e.*, he obtained a great proficiency in the study of Vēdas. This is not a great glory on his part, as the king appointed him to bear the burden of the whole empire.

V. 9. From him (*sc.* Anaṅga-bhīma) King **Rājendra** (*i.e.* Rājarāja) took his birth, the nail-like swan of whose feet-lotus slept soundly on the moss-bed of locks of those hostile kings, who bowed down to him in submission.

V. 10. Whose son was called **Anaṅga-bhīma**, whose bounty triumphs, even if the golden Sumēru be melted by the fire of prowess and the clouds take up the melted gold and rain constantly to drench the quarters and slake the thirst of the needy, those showers of rain can never satisfy, but his bounty always satisfied the desires of all those who received it from him.

V. 11. Whose fame, when it whitens the Heaven, Earth and the Nether worlds, wipes away the glory of the heavenly Ganges which consists in her pure whiteness; whose praises when uttered by the throat makes away with the usefulness of the garland of pearls, the lustre of the nails of whose feet was the crown of hostile kings, who did not any more feel the necessity of wearing a turban on their head.

V. 12. Whose toes slept (like the domesticated birds) on the forehead of kings, which were, as it were, the tops of houses; whose ministry was accepted by Viṣṇu (a Brahmin) who appeared like a second Viṣṇu, whose fame unified the empire of the kings of three Kalingas.

V. 13. Of the hostile kings, they that sought his protection at the very beginning of the combat, without shooting even an arrow, and they that, confident of the overwhelming strength of their mighty hands, raised their swords, it is strange that both these classes of adverse kings obtained, before long, the eternal happiness by gaining the feet of Viṣṇu, *i.e.*, those that died in the field went to heaven and there obtained final emancipation at Viṣṇu's feet, and those that sought protection were very glad to appear before the minister Viṣṇu and at his feet established peace.

V. 14. The Vaikhānasas could not even by their most austere penance comprehend the omnipresence and all-pervadingness of Viṣṇu to the extent to which the idea was realised by the **Tumhāna King** (*i.e.*,

Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān), when he began, apprehending Viṣṇu here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the banks of the Bhīmā, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills and on the sea-shores.

V. 15. What more shall I speak of his heroism ! He alone fought against the Muhammadan King, and applying arrows to his bow, killed many skilful warriors. Even the gods would assemble in the sky to obtain the pleasure of seeing him with their sleepless and fixed eyes.

V. 16. Whose innumerable elephants and horses frolicked in all directions ; whose white umbrellas when carried on the roads covered all the quarters ; who lived in *Kaṭaka* and trampled over the heads of the principal kings, wherever any work of the imperial goddess of fortune of the King of Utkala had not made its progress.

V. 17. Think for a moment, how small is the earth to hold his fame, of what extent is the sky to spread his fame ; how small is the vault of heaven again where to give a free scope to it ; how small is the horizon where his fame rests like a garland, and how small is the whole universe to contain his fame.

V. 18. All the universe being whitened by his fame, Mahādēva takes Yamunā (mistaking her for the Ganges) up to adorn his crest, the fair ladies hold the blue water lilies (now white) in their garlands ;

V. 19. On the shores of the sea, which are the favourite of Puruṣōttama, he created several Golden-mountains (Sumēru) by the performance of the *Tulā-puruṣa* gift ; and by erecting there hundreds of comfortable pleasure-houses attracted even Indra's eyes which were fixed at the lotus-like face of Ācā.

V. 20. He constructed several roads with hundreds of ponds, here and there, about them. The sea-breezes coming to these tanks rested for a while on the bed of the blooming lotuses and thereby after refreshing themselves of the fatigue of the journey, and bearing provisions of aqueous particles, fragrant with the sweet scents of the lotuses, floating in them, followed the travellers.

V. 21. Whom Logic saw with side-long looks, whose lotus-like face the Vēdas kissed, at whose heart the news roamed voluntarily ; and whom the doctrine of administration of justice embraced heartily.

V. 22. He, who was rich in reputation, renewed with his clear sight into the Vēdas, all the Purāṇas now destined to be directed in the wrong ways through the gross-blunder of the expounders of them.

V. 23. He built this temple to Īva the destroyer of Kāma. The sun supports its golden pinnacle, the moon himself is its crystal jar full of water, and the beauty of the banner of its spire is the heavenly river Mandākini.

V. 24. As long as the principal mountains do heave themselves up the sea, and thereby protect the three worlds, so long do their temple proclaim the fame of its consecration here and sing the eulogy.

V. 25. The poet *Bhāskara* composed this eulogy whose fame could not be measured by the fourteen worlds, whose intellectual powers were not satisfied even with the study of the fourteen branches of learning, and whose pithy sayings are not to be depreciated even in fourteen *manvantaras*.

The date of the Jagannātha Temple in Puri, Orissa.—By BABU MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., B.L., Deputy Magistrate, Gaya, Bengal.

[Read August, 1898.]

The great temple of Jagannātha at Puri is widely known in India; but nothing definite is known about the time of its erection. Touching this point I adduce below some arguments based on recently discovered inscriptions.

The Gangavam̐a copper-plates of Orissa contain the following important passage¹ :—

पादौ यस्य धरान्तरीक्षमखिलं नाभिस्तु सर्वा दिशः
 श्रोत्रे नेत्रयुगं रवीन्दुयुगलं मूर्धापि च द्यौरसौ ।
 प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतिः को नाम कर्तुं क्षम-
 स्तस्येत्याद्यन्तरैरपेक्षितमयं चक्रोय गङ्गेश्वरः ॥
 लक्ष्मीजन्मभूम्हं पयोनिधिरसौ संभावितस्य स्थिति-
 र्नां धाम्नि श्वशुरस्य पूज्यत इति क्षीराब्जिवासाद्भुवं ।
 निर्विस्तुः पुरुषोत्तमः प्रमुदितस्तदासनाभाद्रमा-
 येतद्भर्तृभूम्हं वरं पिष्टमृहात्प्राप्य प्रमोदान्विता ॥

Translation :—

“What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a god as Puruṣōttama, whose feet are the earth, whose navel the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and moon, and whose head that heaven (above)? This task which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings, was fulfilled by Gangēṣvara.

“The ocean is the birth-place of Lakṣmī, so thinking in his father-in-law's house (the ocean) Viṣṇu lodged with some shame, though he

¹ Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, Vol. LXIV, (1895), p. 139; Journal, Vol. LXV, (1896), p. 240. This pantheistic idea and even the very similes of the text may be traced as far back as R̥gvēda (X, 90, 13-4).

got full adoration. Thus ashamed, the god Puruṣōttama was glad to get this new house; and Lakṣmī, too, gladly preferred living in her husband's new house to living in her father's house."

This passage shows that—

- (1) a great temple was erected in Orissa dedicated to Puruṣōttama,
- (2) that it was erected by order of Gaṅgēṣvara *alias* Cōḍagaṅga, and
- (3) that it was erected on or near the sea-coast.

Puruṣōttama is another name of Jagannātha, whose Kṣētra and Māhātmya are still called Puruṣōttama-Kṣētra and Puruṣōttama-Māhātmya. The description thus leaves no doubt that the temple erected by Cōḍagaṅga can be no other than the present temple of Jagannātha.

Cōḍagaṅga, however, ruled long, for nearly seventy years. His anointment (abhiṣeka) took place formally in 999 Śaka (17th February, 1078 A.D.). But he is believed to have practically ruled from two years back, 997 Śaka, so far as the numerous inscriptions quoted in Dr. Hultzsch's Epigraphical Report of 1895-96 (particularly those of Mukhalingam) can be relied on. Similarly, if the date of Vajrahasta's accession be taken as 960 Śaka, then Cōḍagaṅga, his grandson, came to the throne in 997 Śaka (960 + 29 + 8),² or 1075-6 A.D. Orissa has been specifically described in the inscriptions to have been conquered by Cōḍagaṅga.³ Consequently the temple of Jagannātha must have been begun to be constructed several years after his conquest. When the Orissan conquest took place is not known, but at least 8 or 10 years might be reasonably assumed to have elapsed before it was taken possession of. We thus arrive at the anterior limit of 1085 A.D., as the date before which the temple of Jagannātha could not have been built by Cōḍagaṅga.

The posterior limit can be arrived at only indirectly. In the Govindapura inscription of Gayā edited by Prof. Kielhorn, it is said—

गत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वयोद्दयः प्रतिष्ठापदं

पारावारतटे पटौयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।

सर्वस्वं विततार तर्पितपितृस्त्रोमः करोल्लसितै-

स्तोयैर्यैः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणं ॥⁴

Translation:—

"Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Maṇoratha went to the sacred Puruṣōttama, and on the

² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 190; Professor Kielhorn has thrown doubts on the English equivalent arrived at (see his note on the covering page 3, Vol. IV, pt. V).

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 169; J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIV, p. 130.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 334; for translation see p. 339.

noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon ; (and) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon, eclipsed at full-moon time."

This inscription is dated 1059 Çaka or 1137-38 A.D. It was composed by one Gaṅgādhara, son of Maṇōratha. The extract shows that the composer's father paid a visit to Puruṣōttama, and gave gifts on the shore of the sea. This visit may be presumed to have taken place 12 or 15 years back from the date of the inscription, or about 1122-25 A.D. The Puruṣōttama-Kṣētra and necessarily the temple must have existed by that time, and must have attained considerable fame to deserve such specific mention. Thirty to thirty-five years might be allowed for this sanctity and the temple can be fairly supposed to have existed by (1125-35 or) 1090 A.D.

That the Kṣētra and the temple existed before the end of the eleventh century receives some corroboration from another inscription. In the Nāgpur praçasti of the Mālava rulers I find the following passage :—

देवासौ पुरुषोत्तमः स भगवानाग्निश्चिये यः श्रिया
येनेदं बलिवैरिबन्धविधिना विश्वं समाश्रसितं ।
येनाधारि वसुन्धरेति दधतः सानन्दमन्दाक्षतां
यस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ बुधजनैर्याजस्तुतिः प्रस्तुता ॥⁵

Translation by Prof. Kielhorn :—

"Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: 'O lord, it was the holy Puruṣōttama to whom fortune resorted, who relieved the universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth.'"

The king referred to is Lakṣma Dēva of Mālava, and the verse extracted is one of several describing his *digvijaya*. The verses preceding this refer to the invasion of East India, and the immediately preceding verse 43 refers to his conquest of Anga and Kalinga, while the immediately succeeding verse 45 refers to the eastern ocean. The allusion to the "holy Puruṣōttama" in the extract, and its juxtaposition with Anga, Kalinga and the eastern ocean points clearly to the Puruṣōttama-Kṣētra and consequently its temple. The inscription is dated Samvat 1161 or 1104-5 A.D. Hence the Puruṣōttama temple would have existed some time before this, or say *circa* 1090 A.D.

⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 187 ; for translation see p. 193.

To resume, the above discussion is intended to establish the following conclusions :—

(1) that the present temple of Jagannātha was built under the orders of Cōḍaganga of Ganga dynasty,

(2) that it existed by about 1090 A.D. and might have been built between 1085-90 A.D.,

(3) that the conquest of Orissa took place very early in the reign of Cōḍaganga, probably in the first decade of his reign (1075-1085 A.D.).

The above arguments are not conclusive, but in the absence of positive proof from any recorded inscriptions, they appear to me to carry much weight.

*Notes on the language and literature of Orissa, Parts III and IV.*¹—By
BABU M. M. CHAKRAVARTI, Deputy Magistrate, Gaya.

[Read December 1897.]

PART III. OŖIYĀ SONGS AND RELIGIOUS POEMS.

In Part II. I have given some glimpses of the Sanskrit compositions in Orissa during the mediæval Hindu rule. The vernacular compositions began to flourish from the close of this Hindu rule. This change was brought on through various causes. The first cause lay in the study of Sanskrit itself. Sanskrit drifted more and more from the colloquial speeches, and a study of the Sanskrit language came to mean years of hard labour. The elaborate and minute analysis and classification of Sanskrit grammars and rhetorics proved a heavy burden for ordinary readers, and the study of Sanskrit literature became more and more unpopular among the leisured classes. If reading of Sanskrit works was found to be troublesome, the writing of works in that language was found to be still more so. The non-Brāhmin scholars continued to study Sanskrit literature on account of its high cultivation, but for compositions they turned their attention to the simple and familiar vernacular.

In Orissa this tendency was aided by its close connexion with Tēlingānā. By the 14th and 15th centuries the language of Tēlingānā, i.e., the Tēlugu, had been well developed and an abundant Tēlugu literature had been produced. Through trade and through dynastic influences, Tēlugu songs, Tēlugu poems and Tēlugu grammars came to be well known in the southern part of Orissa. The leisured classes saw that the vernaculars were capable of being well-developed, and in this respect Tēlugu literature served as an excellent model. Thus a number of the non-Brāhmin scholars took to cultivation of their spoken speeches.

A further help in this direction was received from the spread of

¹ Parts I and II are published in Journal Part I, 1897.

Vaiṣṇavism. The sanctity of Puri attracted a considerable number of devotees, and several maṭhs of Rāmānuja and other sects sprang up on its sands. About 1510 A.D. Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇavite apostle of Bengal, first visited Orissa, and later on settled in Puri. Here he gathered a considerable following and by and by came to exercise much influence. Though a good Sanskrit scholar, he aimed to impart his religious instructions through the vernaculars. With the Paṇḍits he argued in Sanskrit, but to the laity he preached in their spoken dialect. His disciples came chiefly from the lower classes, and carried out this practice of vernacular preaching more extensively. In this way religion which had hitherto been a strong prop of the monopolising Sanskrit learning, ceased to be so. In contradistinction to Brāhmins, grew up a body of Vaiṣṇava gurus and mahantas whose influence gradually increased over the land, and with whose increasing influence the vernaculars came more and more to the front. The Vaiṣṇava devotees translated the Sanskrit religious works, composed new devotional poems, and by *saṅkīrtans* and vernacular songs considerably developed the power of the vernaculars. To the Vaiṣṇavites are due almost all the early vernacular compositions both in Orissa and in Bengal.

Another cause for the change lay in the overthrow by the Mahomedans of the paramount Hindu power. In 1568 A.D. the last independent Hindu king Teliṅgā Makunda Dāva was defeated and killed; and Orissa was overrun by the victorious army of Sulaimān Kerānī of Bengal. From that year for nearly two centuries Orissa remained subject to the Mahomedan rule, first under Pathans and next under the Mughals. On the transfer of the supreme power the influence of the Brāhmins and of the Sanskrit language received a check. The Hindu religion itself lost the powerful support of the ruling power. In the towns the Persian and the Persianised Hindi (Urdū) came into vogue. They showed the people that Sanskrit was not the only highly cultivated tongue in India. Hence a certain amount of freedom was produced which was favourable to the cultivation of vernaculars. In the towns and in the courts of petty Hindu chiefs many turned their attentions to compositions in Oriyā.

To summarise, the difficulties of compositions in the dead Sanskrit, the example of the early developed Telugu, the influence of Vaiṣṇavism and the supersession of the Hindu rule by the Mahomedans—all tended to swell the tide in favour of the vernaculars. Original Sanskrit works by the Oriyās practically ceased. From the 16th century downwards, one finds no real Sanskrit compositions by non-Brāhmins. Even among the Brāhmins the writers confined themselves chiefly to *śikṣā* or ex-

planatory notes on Sanskrit classics. Small pieces, such as *Guṇḍicā-bijaya* or *Guṇḍicā-campu* (description of Jagannātha's car festival), or *Hāsyārṇava* (collection of comic verses) hardly deserve the name of works. Gradually even this Sanskrit scholarship declined and Brāhmins fairly well acquainted with Sanskrit classics or philosophy grew smaller in number. Young students were obliged to go to Benares for studying Sanskrit grammar or Vēdānta philosophy, or to Nadiyā in Bengal for studying Nyāya or logic.

It should not however be understood that because compositions in Sanskrit dwindled, Sanskrit language itself ceased to influence. Both Tēlugu and Urdū did not escape the influence of Sanskrit study, and so could make no change other than a general inclination towards the use of the vernaculars. The vehicle of expression alone changed; the intellectual atmosphere underwent no great change. Sanskrit classics, specially the later ones such as the *Naiṣadhīya* and the *Çiçupāla-vadha* were considered models to be closely imitated; while Sanskrit grammars and rhetorics supplied the rules of elegant compositions in Oṛiyā. Thus whether in versification or in the sentiment underlying them, in the outer forms or in the inner ideas of Oṛiyā poetry Sanskrit continued to dominate. At the time of discussing the later Oṛiyā poets, this preponderating influence of Sanskrit classics and rhetorics will be more fully seen.

The earliest compositions in Oṛiyā were

(A) Songs or

(B) Translations of the Sanskrit religious works.

These are generally in poetry. Certain prose works, such as *Mādaḷa Pāñji* or the chronicles of the Jagannātha temple and *Vamçāvalīs* or genealogies of royal families had been begun from old time. They have however no literary merits and their historical value I will treat at the end of this article.

SONGS.

Songs are the articulations of man's heart deeply moved, and are as common to the civilised as to the savage. They are based on a single sentiment, or a single incident, and do not require long continuous thinking. Hence they precede serious compositions, and take their birth from the early childhood of a language. Oṛiyā could not have been an exception, and Oṛiyā songs must have been current from an early period. The earlier songs are lost. The only song which I am inclined to think as pre-Mahomedan is *Kēśava Kō-ili* (केशव कोइलि) of Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa. This is known widely in Orissa, and is taught to children in the *pāṭhçālās*. From its wide popularity it would appear

to be more than three hundred years old. Hunter's list¹ puts its date as 500 years old; but the reasons for this conclusion are not given. The song is based on an incident of the Bhāgavata. Cṛi-Kṛṣṇa had gone to Mathurā leaving his mother Yaçōdā. Yaçōdā felt unhappy at the separation and poured out her grief addressing the cuckoo. The verse runs easy, and the subject—a mother's lamentation for her absent son—appeals to Indian hearts. No wonder therefore that the song is so popular in Orissa.

The other songs in current use are much later; but from the works of the chief Oṛiyā poets the names of several earlier songs can be traced. These songs passed into favourite tunes, and came to be thus noticed. Among the oldest may be named Rukmaṇi Cautisā (रुक्मणी चौतिशा)² Madhupa Cautisā (मधुप चौतिशा) and Biprasimha Cautisā (विप्रसिंह चौतिशा).³ Several other old songs are quoted as tunes by Upēndra Bhañja and in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa.⁴ It is a matter of regret that most of these songs are now known only by their names.

¹ Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II, App. IX, p. 206. Here Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa is credited wrongly with the authorship of another song—Gyānōdaya Kō-ijī. This song was really composed by Lōkanātha Dāsa, a disciple of one Trilōcana, and is much later. It deals with the mystical doctrines and symbols of Yōga, and some of the stanzas are really creditable, e.g.

जगतु ज्योति दुआर ।
 यहिँ विजे निराकार ।
 ज्योतिपरे ज्योति गोष ।
 यामिनी पाहि जलु अछि दीप लो ।
 यतन करि जगिबु येवे ।
 युगे युगे योगी होइबु तेवे लो । २६ ।

"Luminous is the door to the universe where shineth the formless. Light unto light darkening, behold, the lamp is burning the whole night. Watch ye with care, then age after age ye can be a Yōgī [26]."

² Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa's Rasakallōja, 25th Chānda; Upēndra Bhañja's Baidēhisa-bilāsa, 46th Chānda.

³ Mathurā Maṅgaḷa, 5th Chānda for Madhupa; and for Biprasimha, see Mathurā Maṅgaḷa 27th and 30th Chāndas, Upēndra Bhañja's Baidēhisabilāsa, 45th Chānda.

⁴ Upēndra Bhañja mentions Jadusimha Cautisā (यदुसिंह चौतिशा), Baidēhisa-bilāsa, 43rd Chānda; Hamsadūta Cautisā (हंसदूत चौतिशा) Baid. Bil. 44th Ch.; Gōpajibana Cautisā (गोपजीवन चौतिशा) Do. 47th Ch.; Chapō-i (चपोइ) Rasapañcaka 1st Pañcaka. Similarly in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa one comes across Bā Cautisā (बा चौतिशा) Ādyakāṇḍa 16th Ch.; "Caḷa-i Ratha" ("चलइ रथ") Ayōdhyā Kā. 11th Ch.; "Kusuma Saurava" ("कुसुम सौरभ") Āraṇyaku Kā. 17th

The existing songs begin with those of Upēndra Bhañja. Many of the later songs are now being compiled and printed. About four hundred such songs have now been published referable to some 70 or 80 authors. Among them the most prominent authors are Upēndra Bhañja, Sadānanda Kaviśūryabrahmā, Makunda Dēva, Banamālī Dāsa, Rājā Jagadēva, Gōpālākṣṇa and an unnamed chief calling himself Aṣṭadurgānātha (or owner of eight forts). The first two authors will be separately noticed in Part IV. Makunda Dēva appears to be the king of Khōrdā who was imprisoned by the British for the Khōrdā rebellion of 1804. Rājā Jagaddēva was of Pārīā Khēmḍi, District Ganjām; but his name I do not find in Mr. Sewell's list of Khēmḍi kings.¹ Banamālī Dāsa and Gōpālākṣṇa were two Brāhmins who appeared from their songs to have been devout Vaiṣṇavas.

Excluding from consideration the recent ones, the Oṛiyā songs are mostly *Cautisās*, that is in four or more couplets. Occasionally they are either *Chāndas* (like the ordinary poems)² or *Chapōis* (in six couplets), or *Bōlis*.³ As a rule, the songs deal with incidents of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Loves of human lovers and mistresses are rarely treated, and then the author is most likely of a royal family like Upēndra Bhañja. This exclusiveness in the treatment of the subject-matter originated in the paramount influence of Vaiṣṇavism and is noticeable not simply in songs but also in the other classes of poetry as I will point out later on.

The songs while mostly devoted to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, deal not with their pleasures but with their pains and describe either the pangs of new-born love or the pangs of separation from the beloved. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa have been reduced to human level, and even of this anthropomorphised love, not the spiritual but the physical aspect, is generally dwelt upon. Several of these songs are composed in the true lyric vein, but as they generally contain descriptions of acts and feelings which would not be

and Uttarā Kā. 39th Ch.; Urdhaba Cautisā (ऊर्ध्व चौतिशा) Laṅkā Kā. 4th Ch.; "Kōtā-i Guṇḍicā" ("कोटाइ गुण्डिचा") Laṅkā Kā. 6th and 40th Ch.; Nandabā-i Cautisā (नन्दाबाइ चौतिशा) Laṅkā Kā. 18th and 64th Ch., etc., etc.

¹ Sewell's sketch of the dynasties of S. India, pp. 45-6.

² Chānda songs are referred to in Mathurā Maṅgaḷa.

केवण चन्द्रवदनी शान्दगीतकु गाउयिला ।

ऊडिला धाड़ी, धाँदला बाड़ि, दक्षण पड़ि गला ॥ 23rd Stanza 14th Ch.

"Some lady, with face handsome as the moon, was singing the Chānda song. (Seeing Kṛṣṇa) she missed a line, and ran, leaving singing and dropping her glances (in surprise)."

³ Bicitra Rāmāyāna, Jadu Bōli (यदु बोळि) Laṅkā Kāṇḍa, 34th Ch.; Dadhi-manthana Bōli (दधि मन्थन बोळि) Do. 41st Ch.

tolerated in modern society, it is impossible to quote them here. One of the least objectionable is the following song from the pen of Banamāli Dāsa; it will give some idea of the Oṛiyā songs. The poet compares love to a sharp knife.

[राग भँभोट । ताल भुला ।]

प्रौति कुरौ प्राण दिआ रे । वाजिव च्छातिरे करलुहा रे । घोषा ।

खेहलुहा यतने तताइ । अम्रजळ तहिँरे देइ ।

मार कारिगर यतने गड़िछि, तहिँरे कळङ्क विष पिआ रे । १ ।

अतिवड़ तीक्ष्ण से धार । नेत्र न ठेकइ तहिँर ।

नवीन दर्पण परि भटकइ, सवु दिने देख दिशे नूआ रे । २ ।

से च्छुरौकि येऊ कुइँव । जाति कुळ सवु तेजिव ।

न पारिले धरि निखे नाश चिव, विरहिमानङ्क प्राण खिआ रे । ३ ।

वोले वनमाळी से कुरौ । सान वड़ नुहे काहारि ।

याहा संगे येते पौरति करइ, तेतिकि करइ कुआ वुआ रे । ४ ।

Saṅgita Sāgara, first Tarāṅga, p. 28.

“Love is like unto a sharpened knife; its iron hand strikes at the heart; [chorus]. With care heating the love-iron, and with eye-tears toughening it, behold, the love god smith has made it carefully, its rust, alas, being poison-drinking. [1]. Very, very sharp is its edge, on which eye cannot be kept; it shines like a new mirror, looking new every time one sees through. [2]. He who touches that knife will have to forego caste and rank; he who fails to seize it is sure to die, so deadly to separated lovers. [3]. Banamāli says that this knife (of love) belongs neither to the old nor to the young; how much (stronger) the attachment, lo! so much (greater) is the uproar. [4].”

A few words about the music of these songs might here be added. Oṛiyā music is essentially southern. In the mediæval times Tanjore was famed for its dancing and singing; and Telingāna was not behind hand. The Tēlugu music attained its greatest developments during the later Vidyānagara rule. Tēlugu songs are still regarded as among the sweetest in the Indian vernaculars. Orissa which was long subject to the Tēlugu influence naturally borrowed from Telingāna its music. The *rāgas* or major tunes are almost exclusively Tēlugu which adopted mostly Sanskrit names, such as Dēçākṣa, Kāmōdi, Bhairava, Mukhāri, Maṅgala, Gurjari, Ghaṇṭārava, Kauçika, Dhanāçri, etc. In course of time the major tunes were often modified by local peculiari-

ties. These modifications might be considered as minor tunes, and fall roughly under two denominations:—

- (1) *Bāṇis* (बाणौ).
- (2) *Ṭṛttas* (टुत्त).

The difference in musical notation between the two classes I cannot say. Some of the *rāgas* slightly modified are occasionally treated as *Bāṇis* such as *Cakrakālī* (चक्रकाली), *Asāṛhasukla* (आशादशुक्ल), *Kaṣasā* (कळसा), etc. But the bulk of the *Bāṇis* are evidently derived from favourite songs such as *Munibara* (मुनिबर), *Rukmaṇi Cautisā* (रुक्मणी चौतिसा), *Biprasimha Cautisā* (बिप्रसिंह चौतिसा), *Jadusimha Cautisā* (यदुसिंह चौतिसा), *Gōpajibana Cautisā* (गोपजीवन चौतिसा), *Chapō-i* (चपोइ), etc. *Ṭṛttas* are similarly derived from favourite songs or poems such as *Abakāsa Ṭṛtta* (अवकाश टुत्त), *Dhaga Ṭṛtta* (दग टुत्त), *Bhāgabata Ṭṛtta* (भागवत टुत्त), *Kṛṣṇakalā Ṭṛtta* (कृष्णकला टुत्त), etc.

In the latter part of the Mahomedan rule, the up-country music was gradually introduced into Orissa. The *tālas* or time-beating thus came into use. I find in the *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa*¹ one *tāla* named as *Ādim Guṇḍir* (आदिम गुण्डिर), which looks like an Urdu or Persian name. The well-known *tāla Khēmṭā* (खेमटा) is also mentioned in the above poem.² This appears to me to have been introduced before the Mahomedan conquest, and then apparently from the South. The *Khēmṭā* was known to *Jagannātha Dāsa* who refers to it thus in his *Bhāgabata*:—

खेमटा नादे गीत गाइ ।

के घाँए, सिंहनाद वाइ ॥ १६ ॥

10th Skandha, 19th Adhyāya, Printed Ed., p. 117.

(Speaking of the *Gōpa* boys and their sports says) “some ran singing to the *Khēmṭā tāla*, and some ran roaring like lions.”

RELIGIOUS POEMS.

Along with the songs, the *Oṛiyā* religious poems are among the earliest. They had their origin in the religious yearnings of the people. When Sanskrit, the depository of all sacred and mythological informations, became a dead language, it naturally failed to satisfy the desires of the populace. Hence translations into vernaculars came to be necessary, and numerous attempts were made to meet the popular demands. Such attempts must have been made from an early

¹ *Sundarā Kāṇḍa*, 9th Chāṇḍa.

² *Ādya Kāṇḍa*, 7th Chāṇḍa; *Laṅkā Kāṇḍa*, 27th Ch.

time, but the earliest ones are lost. The existing works cannot be put before the 16th century A.D.

The chief religious poems in current use are :—

- (1) The *Çrīmad-bhāgabata* (श्रीमद्भागवत) of Jagannātha Dāsa.
- (2) The *Rāmāyaṇa* (रामायण) of Baḷarāma Dāsa.
- (3) The *Mahābhārata* (महाभारत) of Sāraḷā Dāsa.
- (4) The *Harivaṃṣa* (हरिवंश) of Acyutānanda Dāsa.

Generally speaking, these poems are not literal translations but summaries and free adaptations of the Sanskrit original. The verses are usually simple and unornamented; the details are lengthy and tedious. Though they contain occasional passages of good descriptions and fine sentiments, they cannot be ranked high as literary compositions. Their importance lies firstly in the fact that they have supplied the bulk of religious and mythological informations to a strongly religious people from generations to generations. They have influenced all castes and all ages. By children their stories are heard with rapt interest; by adults they are learnt and talked about; by women and old men they are listened for days and months devoutly and patiently as the passport to some worldly good or heavenly bliss. Secondly, they form important land marks in the development of the Oriyā literature. Before their time the Oriyā was a rude uncouth dialect, poor in ideas, poor in words. These religious authors nursed it, imported words into it or coined words for it, and gave it some polish. They showed that the Oriyā language could be made fit for expressing complex thoughts and abstract feelings, and by their own imperfect efforts made it capable of being utilised in various kinds of versifications. They prepared in fact the way for the later Oriyā poets Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa, Upendra Bhañja, and Abhimanyu Sāmantasiṃghāra. Any sketch therefore of the progress of the Oriyā intellect would be materially incomplete if it fails to give some accounts of these old religious poems.

The most influential of these has been the *Çrīmad-bhāgabata* or briefly the **Bhāgabata**. Very little is known about it and its author. The work itself gives no clue to its time excepting the fact that it must be later than *Çrīdhara Svāmi*, much later because his name is referred to with high veneration.¹ *Çrīdhara Svāmi* was a Gujarātī Brāhmin

- ¹ श्रीधर नामे विप्रवर । कळियुगरे जन्म तार ॥ १०३ ॥
 श्रीभागवत ये पुराण । अष्टादश ये श्लोककेष (? सहस्रेण) ॥ १०४ ॥
 ताडौका ये चतुर्थेयं शब्दे । कहे शिखर परकाये ॥ १०५ ॥

MS. *Bhāgabata*, 12th Skandha, 13th Adhyāya.

"The Brāhmin by name *Çrīdhara* was born in *Kalīyuga*. The *Purāṇa Çrī-Bhāgabata* has *śloka*s eighteen thousand. Its *īkā* in thousands one-fourth (of the *Purāṇa*), *Çrīdhara* has expounded in writing."

whose *ṭikā* or commentary on the Bhāgabata Purāṇa is the best known. He is believed to have flourished by the 14th century A.D. Hence the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata must be much later than 14th century A.D. Starting from backward I find that it must be earlier than 1143 or 1736 A.D. in which year was copied a MS. of the fourth Skandha.¹ It is earlier than Baidēhisabīlāsa, one of the earliest poems of Upendra Bhaṇḍja, for the Bhāgabata is referred to as a tune (Bṛtta) in its 27th Chānda. He preceded Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa whose principal work the Rasakallōḷa is probably based on the tenth Skandha 1st to 52nd Adhyāya of the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata. Dīnakṛṣṇa refers to a tune Rukmaṇī Cantisā (Rasakallōḷa 25th Chānda), and this tune is derived from a song which is likely to have been based on the popular vernacular Bhāgabata (10th Skandha 56th to 58th Adhyāya). If Dīnakṛṣṇa's time be taken at the middle of the 17th century, as I shall show later on, the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata must be still older and cannot be later than the close of the 16th century.

This is borne out by the general tradition, according to which Jagannātha Dāsa, the author of the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata, is identifiable with the Jagannātha Dāsa who founded the Atibara subsect of Oṛiyā Vaiṣṇavas, and who was a disciple of Caitanya the great Vaiṣṇavite preacher of Bengal. This tradition is strongly corroborated by the Jagannāthacaritāmṛta which attempts to give a biography of the Atibara founder somewhat like Caitanya's in the Caitanyacaritāmṛta. In that work the author Dibākara Kara remarks in the 5th Adhyāya:—

श्लोक करि भागवतार्थ । पदे कलि भाषाचरित ॥ १६ ॥

पूर्वे येउँ गोसाँइ यहि । येवण भाषा इन्ति कहि ॥

से पद ठिक ठिक करि । लेखिलि भाषा अनुसरि ॥ १८ ॥ Ms. folio 28.

“Having understood the ślokas of Bhāgabata, I rendered them into *Bhāṣā*. The lines which my Gōsāī (*i.e.*, Jagannātha Dāsa) had said before in *Bhāṣā*, I correctly understood, and wrote following this *Bhāṣā*.”

As Jagannātha Dāsa was a disciple of Caitanya, he must have flourished in the 2nd quarter of the 16th century, and the Bhāgabata was probably finished towards the latter part of this 2nd quarter.

The Jagannāthacaritāmṛta has not yet been printed. The manuscript which I am using consists of 136 folios with four lines on

¹ See Supra pt. I, p. 330, J. A. S. B., Part I, 1897. The passage runs thus:—

इति श्रीमद्भागवते महापुराणे ... त्रिंशो अध्यायः ॥ ० ॥ समस्त रामचन्द्र दी महा-
राजाद्वर १२ अक्ष सन ११५२ साले ए पुस्त(क) संपूर्ण देला । Ms. Folio 127.

each page. It is a curious mixture of Sanskrit and Oṛiyā verses. It purports to be a biography of Jagannātha Dāsa, but the first seven Adhyāyas treat more of Caitanya than of Jagannātha, while the 20th Adhyāya is exclusively devoted to a description of the Puruṣōttama Kṣētra. The author Dibākara Kara was a Brāhmin Vaiṣṇava of the Atibara subsect.¹ His time is unknown, but from the respect in which he is held by the Vaiṣṇavas of that subsect, he cannot be less than 150 to 200 years old. The biography is more full of quotations, eulogies and miracle descriptions than of facts, and after a wearisome reading, I have been able to cull the following few details about Jagannātha Dāsa.

Jagannātha was born at Kapileṣvarapura Sāsana, District Purī. His father was Bhagabāna Dāsa Purāṇa Paṇḍā (reader of Purāṇas), and his mother was named Padmā. The time of his birth is noted as noon of bhādra çukla aṣṭamī. As he grew into boyhood, he took up the usual studies of a Brāhmin, and he is said to have read up to his eighteenth year. *Apropos* of the Bhāgabata, it is said in the 1st Adhyāya:—

श्रीरामायण ग्रन्थ साधि । श्रीभागवते देले बुधि । १६ ।

द्वादश स्कन्द भागवत । टीका टिप्पणिहि सहित ॥ १०५ ॥

“Having studied the Rāmāyaṇa, he applied his mind to (studying) the Bhāgabata;—the twelve skandha-ed Bhāgabata with all its notes and commentaries.”

After finishing the studies, Jagannātha Dāsa took up his father's pursuits, *viz.*, reading Purāṇas in the temple of Jagannātha. Here Caitanya often met him and was so much delighted with his reading and religious devotion that he made him a disciple. Gradually Jagannātha became the favourite of Caitanya who gave him the surname Atibara or “the greatest.” This displeased the other disciples, most of whom left Purī. Caitanya grew more and more fond of him and recommended him to king Pratāpa Rudra of Orissa. Soon after Caitanya disappeared (*i.e.*, died). Jagannātha Dāsa continued to reside in Purī. He showed various miracles to the king and converted him

¹ In the 5th Adhyāya the author thus speaks of his own ancestors.

मो नाम विप्र दिवाकर । निमदेव पिता मोक्षीर । ४ ।

गोपालदासे खुडुपिता । नन्ददासे ताङ्कर पिता । ५ ।

ताङ्कर पिता वाद दासे । चम्पा नामेण माता मोर । ६ ।

भरद्वाज गोत्र मोक्षीर । वृहत्पङ्क्तिर प्रवर । ७ । MS. Folio 27.

“My name is Dibākara, a Bipra (Brāhmin by caste). Nima Dēba is my father, and Gōpāla Dāsa my uncle. Their father is Nanda Dāsa, whose father is Bā-i Dāsa. My mother is by name Campā. My *gōtra* is Bharadvāja, and (my) *pravara* Vṛhatyaṅgira.”

and numerous others as his followers. Ultimately, Jagannātha Dāsa himself disappeared in the body of the Lord Jagannātha. According to the author, Caitanya was an avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, while Jagannātha Dāsa was an avatāra of Rādhā.

The Bhāgabata Purāṇa is the most sacred book of the Vaiṣṇavas, their Bible or Koran. The Oṛiyās are mostly Vaiṣṇavas, and hence the Oṛiyā Bhāgabata enjoys an immense popularity. In every respectable house a room is set apart in which the Bhāgabata with the other religious works is kept on a *gāḍi* (raised seat) and periodically or daily worshipped with flowers, tulsi leaves and sandal pastes. In every important village a shed is set aside at one end, where the villagers gather and hear every week the Bhāgabata read out by Brāhmins. On auspicious days the Bhāgabata is read out in a gentlemen's house to his friends and relatives, while the *pōthi* is always handled with care and respect.

I give below two extracts to let the reader have some idea of the writer's powers. The first gives a description of the summer season in the groves of Br̥ndāvana; and the second attempts to describe in vernacular the Māyā doctrine of Vēdāntism.

एमन्ते शुण परीक्षित । स्वभावे सरिला वसन्त ॥ ५ ॥
 निदाघकाल आगमन । धर्मे तापित सर्व जन ॥
 सर्वदा वसन्त पवन । सधौरे वहे दिन दिन ॥
 वसन्त तुहे ना दुर्लभ । ये वने श्रीराम माधव ॥
 नदीनिर्भर जल नादे । निवीड़ भरङ्ग श्रवदे ॥
 निर्भर जलकण्ठे मिलि । अतिशीतल वनस्थली ॥ १० ॥
 नदीतरङ्ग पुष्पवन । पवन योगे कम्पमान ॥
 जले अकइ पुष्प येते । कमल कुसुद सहिते ॥
 ताहाङ्ग रेणु घेनि वळे । पवन वहे कुतुहले ॥
 एणु से वृन्दावन देश । निदाघ न करे स्पर्श ॥
 घन गहन वन भूमि । तेणु नुहन्ति जोवे श्रमी ॥ १५ ॥
 अति गभीर नदीजले । लहरौ वाजि उठे वळे ॥
 पङ्क दिग्गह वेनि तट । भङ्ग तरङ्गे धुआ तुठ ॥
 एणि एवन भूमि देश । आदित्य न करइ ग्रास ॥
 स्वभावे कुसुमित वने । चित्र मयूर पक्षी खने ॥
 कोकिल सारस निकर । भ्रमर ध्वनि मनोहर ॥ २० ॥

"Now listen Parikṣita. In due course passed away the spring. [5]. Came hot summer, perspiring all men. (But in Br̥ndābana) every day the spring breezes blow gently. Spring cannot be rare in the grove where Çri-Rāma (Balabhadra) and Mādhaba (Kṛṣṇa) are. The deep springs babbling, make murmurs in the river water. The sprays of the stream and of the springs mixing, keep cool the woody groves. [10]. With the breeze shake the river ripples and the blossoming groves. Playfully the wind wafts abroad the (pollen) dusts of the flowers in water, the lotuses, the nelumbiums, and others. Hence this Br̥ndābana land with its deep woods and groves hot summer never touches; hence its residents never feel tired. [15]. In the deep river water, ripples rise one after another in force; muddy look both its banks; the ripples breaking wash the bathing recesses. Moreover, the sun never torments this forest grove, this wood by nature blooming with flowers, and resounding with the screams of the many-coloured peacocks, with the notes of the cuckoos and the cranes, with the delightful hum of the bees. [20]."

भो नाथ नम तो पयर । आदिपुरुष विश्वेश्वर ॥
 प्रकृति परे तोर वास । एगु प्राणिङ्कि अप्रकाश ॥ ७० ॥
 जनुङ्क अन्तर वाहारे । तो विनु अन्य नाहिं परे ॥
 आत्मादि मायायवनिका । जीव स्वरूपे थाइ एका ॥
 इन्द्रिय तुळे भोग करि । अमय आदि रूपे पूरि ॥
 तोहोर माया यार चित्ते । से तोते जाणिव केमन्ते ॥
 नटङ्क मध्ये ये नायक । से येहे नाटे मोहे लोक ॥ ७५ ॥
 नाना काळेखि से भियाइ । नृत्यकारकु ये नचाइ ॥
 देखन्ता प्राणी मन मोहे । सत्य विचारे किछि नोहे ॥

1st Skandha, 8th Adhyāya, printed ed. p. 40.

"Salutation to thy feet, oh Lord! thou, the first cause, the Lord of the universe. Thou residest beyond Prakṛti (nature), and hence art invisible to beings. [70]. The interior and the exterior of all creatures, nothing is outside thee. (The ideas of) *Ātmā*, i. e., Self and others are but so many *māyā* curtains, while in essence the Being remains the same. This Being enjoys through the senses; and puts on (as masks) forms like *abhaya*, and others. How can he know thee, oh Lord! over whose mind thine *māyā* (illusion) is? Just as the master among the *naṭas* (jugglers) by his juggleries fascinates the lookers-on; [75] and bringing forth various tricks and causing puppets to dance, bewitches the minds of spectators—but in truth they are nothing (so is it with thee, oh Lord!)."

The Bhāgabata was also translated in Oṛiyā by Kṛṣṇa Simha, the Rājā of Dharākōṭa in Ganjām District, and this translation is believed to be more accurate. But like the revised version of the Bible it has failed to be popular. Hunter's list also mentions an Oṛiyā version of the Bhāgabata by one Kṛṣṇa Dāsa. The influence of Jagannātha Dāsa's Bhāgabata is traceable in many of the later works. It moulded three large works, *viz.*, Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa's Rasakallōḷa, Bhaktacarana Dāsa's Mathurā Mangala, and the Prēmapañcāmṛta of Bhūpati Paṇḍita. Modified by Rādhā-cultism, it had its effect on the works of Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā and Abhimanyu Sāmantasimghāra. It suffused whether with or without Rādhā-worship, the numerous songs of the Oṛiyās (Cautisās and Pōis). As already pointed out it gave rise to a separate tune and class of versification. Even now various *Jātrās* based upon and borrowed from the Bhāgabata are played to large audiences in the mofussil, and are watched with much interest. The importance of this work in the past and even present life of the mofussil Oṛiyās it would be difficult to exaggerate.

Next in importance is the Oṛiyā *Rāmāyaṇa* (or as commonly pronounced *Rābāṇa*) of Balarāma Dāsa. Little is known about the author. He must be earlier than *sana* 1164 or 1757 A.D. in which year one of the manuscripts I have seen was copied. He apparently preceded the poet Upēndra Bhañja, as the latter refers to him respectfully as *छपा सिदाय गीत प्रकाशे*, (*i.e.*), one who uttered his verses inspired by the grace of God.¹ This veneration presupposes a pretty long time back and agrees with the general tradition according to which Balarāma Dāsa was a disciple of Caitanya. In Jagannāthacaritāmṛta that I have already referred to, Jagannātha Dāsa is said to have been initiated as a disciple of Caitanya by सत्त वल्लराम दास (the enthusiast Balarāma Dāsa).² If he be identifiable with the author, then the Oṛiyā

¹ Baidēhisabīlāsa, 1st Chānda, 4th Stanza, printed ed., p. 4. Upēndra Bhañja does not name him, but this has been explained by his commentator.

² Jag. caritāmṛta MS., Folio 10.

येँडटि सत्त वल्लराम । बैखव मानङ्क उत्तम । १२६ ।

आसन शय्य (न) भोजन । छमण स्थापन खपन । १२७ ।

राच दिवस न जाणनि । प्रेसरै सत्त होइ यान्नि । १२८ ।

"That enthusiast Balarāma, the best among the Vaiṣṇavas, he does not, while sitting, sleeping, eating, walking, lying, dreaming, know day or night; but is phrenzied in his devotion (to God)."

Balarāma Dāsa has been again mentioned in Fol. 36, as a chief disciple of Caitanya Dēva.

ग्रीगोरिदास पण्डित । सत्त वल्लराम सङ्गत ॥

Rāmāyaṇa slightly preceded the Bhāgavata and will have to be placed in the 1st quarter of the 16th century.

Balarāma Dāsa came of a respectable family. He was a son of an Oṛiyā minister named Sōmanātha Mahāpātra.

सहामन्त्रिवर सोमनाथ माहापात्र ।

वळरामदास ताहार अटइ पुत्र ॥

MS. No. 2, Fol. 308.

“Çri-Sōmanātha Mahāpātrā is the chief of ministers. His son is Balarāma Dāsa.”

He became a devout Vaiṣṇava and came to reside in Purī. In the closing passages of each Kāṇḍa he expresses his humility and prays to Jagannātha for his deliverance. His Rāmāyaṇa is simple in style and is generally written in one form of versification. He sometimes uses grammatical forms not now in existence, e.g.—

चन्मै नयनेण सु देखिलि जगन्नाथ ।

तेणु से वाखाणिलि आदिकाण्ड ग्रन्थ ॥

MS. No. 1, Fol. 447.

“With the eye of flesh have I seen Lord Jagannātha ; hence have I been able to expound the work Ādikāṇḍa.”

Here “nayanēṣa” contains an instrumental form of “ēṣa” which was derived from Sanskrit but is not now in use. Similar grammatical variations are also to be found in the Oṛiyā Mahābhārata. It is a pity that neither of these works has yet been printed. The influence of this Rāmāyaṇa is perceptible in several later works, such as Baidēhisabīlāsa of Upēndra Bhañja, Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Bisvanātha Khuṇṭi-ā, the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Harihara Dāsa and Rāmaliḷā of Sadāsiba Dāsa.¹ The Rāmaliḷā Jātras of the mofussil are mostly based on this work. Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōṭa translated another version of the Rāmāyaṇa, which though literally more correct has failed to catch the public ear.

¹ This author is not mentioned in Hunter's list. The manuscript consists of 92 folios with 5 lines on each page. The work describes in verse the story of Rāma from his birth to his abhiṣēka (crowning). The manuscript was copied in 1229 sana or 1820 A.D. and ends thus—

सदा सदाशिवकु यमन्त छपा कर ।

रामसीता विनु आने मन नोऊ तार ॥ 121st Canto, 14th couplet.

“(Oh God!) Always do this favour to Sadāsiba, that his mind may not go elsewhere except towards Rāma and Sitā.”

In addition to the Rāmāyana, Balarāma Dāsa composed numerous smaller pieces, a list of which is to be found in Hunter's *Orissa*, App. ix. They amount to twenty-two and deal with various religious and ethical topics. Of these I have seen in manuscripts, the *Aṅgana Gītā* (No. 2), *Gupta Gītā* (No. 14), and *Tulābhīṇā* (No. 23); and in print, *Bēdhā-parikramā* (No. 1), *Gaṇanistārāṇa Gītā* (No. 10), and *Mṛugānistuti* (No. 17). I have also seen in print *Kānta Kō-ṛi* (कान्त कोइलि) which was composed by Balarāma Dāsa, but which has not been mentioned in Hunter's list. This song is put into the mouth of Sitā and describes the events from her abduction by Rāvana to Rāma's abhisēka.

The next great epic of Sanskrit, the *Mahābhārata* has also been rendered into Oriyā. The popular version was by Sārōlā Dāsa. He was a Cūdra by caste, and while he professed to be a Vaiṣṇava and speaks devoutly of Jagannātha, he was at heart a worshipper of the goddess Caṇḍī. The closing lines of each parva speak of Sārōlā Caṇḍī Thākuraṇī; and in his last page he says—

यखैरपूरवासेनि हिङ्गळा चगडी शारोळो ।

से मोर तुळसीमाळ हेलें बक्षस्थळे ॥

“The (goddess) Hingulā Caṇḍi Sārōlō dwells at Jakhēmrapura. She is my *tulasī* (*Ocimum*) garland that swings over the breast.”

Then again his last lines are

श्रीचण्डी च यत्किंप्रवासीङ्ग चरणे ।

गुद्रमुनि शारोळादास पसीला शरणे ॥ MS. Folio 245.

“At the feet of Qrī-Canḍī, the resident of Jakhēmpura, the Qūdra ascetic Sārōlā Dāsa seeks refuge.”

The goddess Caṇḍī is said to be of Jakhēm which is probably the older form of the present village Jhaṅkara in Thāna Tirtōla, District Cuttack. Here the worship of Śarōḷā Thākuraṇī is widely prevalent and attracts considerable local pilgrimage.

It is impossible at present to find out the precise date of this work. It must be older than the 3rd *Aṅka* of Rāmacandra Dēva, Mithuna 21st, on which date the oldest manuscript I have seen was copied. The 3rd *Aṅka* of Rāmacandra Dēva II. falls in 1732-3 A.D.¹ How much older he was there is no means of knowing. But from its popularity and veneration, from its uneven versification, and peculiar forms of several of its words and grammatical terminations I infer that the work cannot be later than

¹ In Appendix IV of this article I have shown that Rāmacandra Dēva began to reign in 1731-2 A.D. His 3rd Anka or the 2nd year should therefore be 1732-3 A. D.

16th century A.D. and might belong to its first half. Like the Sanskrit original it forms a gigantic undertaking and takes up about two thousand folios. It does not pretend to any literary finish, and the verses often rhyme unequally. But it has the merit of having superseded the Sanskrit Mahābhārata among the common mass.

According to tradition, Sārōlā Dāsa was a resident of the village Kālināga in Parganā Jhaṅkaṛa. A cāsā by caste, he had three more brothers. He was considered the dunce of the family; but through the grace of Sārōlā Dēvī, the principal goddess of Jhaṅkaṛa, he is said to have acquired the power of versifying. The goddess ordered him to compose the Mahābhārata in Oriyā; and when he expressed his inability to distinguish good from bad verses, she said "Write on palm leaves whatever comes to your mind. When you get disgusted, take the palm leaves so written to the river Candrabhāgā, and float them on its water. Gather those leaves which will float up to you and stitch them according to the order of receipt. This will be your Mahābhārata." In this way Sārōlā Dāsa is said to have composed his work. Candrabhāgā is another name for the stream Buḍhā that flows past the village Tēntulipadā in Parganā Jhaṅkaṛa. After composing, Sārōlā Dāsa took his poem to Purī, but there the Paṇḍits laughed at it. During the night, however, Lord Jagannātha appeared in a dream to the Rājā, and strongly recommended the work to him. Then by order of the Rājā, the work was re-examined by the Paṇḍits, who unanimously approved it. Pleased with his poem, the Rājā of Purī gave him, as *jāgīr*, Jhaṅkaṛa and three other Parganās. Sārōlā Dāsa's descendants still live at Kālināga, Tēntulipadā and the adjoining villages, and now pass as Karaṇas or members of the writer-caste.

Another version of the Mahābhārata into Oriyā was prepared under the direction of the Rājā Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōṭa. But this version though literally more correct, is hardly known among the people. The influence of the Mahābhārata, both Sanskrit and Oriyā, may be traced in certain brief redactions such as the Sucitra Bhārata of Kēsaba Dāsa and the Bicitra Bhārata of Bisvambhara Misra. Episodes of Mahābhārata were worked into smaller pieces as Kapaṭapāsā or fraudulent dice-playing, Subhadrā-pariṇaya or marriage of Subhadrā, Gajanistāraṇa Gītā or the deliverance of the elephant in his fight with the tortoise, etc. In addition the Bhāgabatagītā which really forms a part of the Mahābhārata was translated into Oriyā; and a version of the Jaimini Mahābhārata was made for popular use.

The last important religious work I will notice is the *Harivaṃśa*. In the original Sanskrit it is a supplement of the Epic Mahābhārata.

But as it treats of Kṛṣṇa and his career, it assumed more importance in a Vaiṣṇava land. Kṛṣṇa Simha of Dharākōṣṭa, in pursuance of his desire to have Oṛiyā translations of the chief religious works translated the Harivaṃṣa. But it is not known among the mass. They use two versions which are commonly designated as

- (1) *Khaṇḍkiā* or single-volumed, and
- (2) *Sātakhaṇḍi-ā* or seven-volumed.

The first is later and was made by a Brāhmin named Nārāyaṇa Dāsa. He speaks of himself thus in his last but one couplet:—

श्रीनीलसुन्दरनाथ अभय चरणे ।

विप्र नारायणदास नमइ वक्ष्यछे ॥ MS. Folio 272.

“At the safety-giving feet of the all-beautiful Lord of the blue (hill), the Brāhmin Nārāyaṇa Dāsa bows at heart.”

As usual, nothing is known of him. But I am inclined to think that he was contemporary with the chief Oṛiyā poets, and probably belongs to the beginning of the 17th century.

The second work is much older and more popular. It was made by Acyutānanda Dāsa. He was a Çūdra by caste and was initiated into Vaiṣṇavism. He preached Vaiṣṇavism among the cattle-keeper caste (Gauras) and was given the title *Mahata*. Undoubtedly he was a devout Vaiṣṇava and his poem is full of expressions of humility. He lived in Raṇapura, a Tributary State adjoining the Puri District and was supported by its chief, Padmaḷābha Narēndra. According to Raṇapura royal genealogy, Padmaḷābha was the 97th king of the family, and ruled between 1477 to 1525 A.D. He is said to have accompanied the Orissa king Puruṣōttama Dēva in his raid to Kāñci (Conjivēram). The time of this Harivaṃṣa should therefore be referred to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Certain personal informations were given by the poet himself in his closing lines.

रणपुर मभि सु आखण्डछे सु वसिकरि थाइ ।

पद्मनाभ नरेन्द्र मोते अर्ख देइ पोसइ ॥

जाति रे सुहि ये सुद्रजन्म अटइ ।

दीक्षा पाइ सु गण्ड कुले थाइ ॥

समस्त गोपाळङ्गु नाम सिद्धा देइ ।

श्रीहरीचरणकु आश्रि करिथाइ ॥

गडडकुळरे सु वोलाइ महत ।
 दया करिक्खन्ति मोते कमळारकान्त ॥
 श्रीगोपीनाथङ्क चरणकु आस ।
 कवि अच्युतदासकु रख हे पीतवास ॥
 सातखण्ड हरिवंश होइला सम्पूर्ण ।
 अच्युतदास भावइ गोविन्द चरण ।

MS. last chapter, folios 231-2.

“At Ākhaṇḍācala in Raṇapura I reside. Padmanābha Navendra supports me. I am born of the Çūdra caste. Having received initiation (into Vaiṣṇavism), I stay among the Gauṛas; and teach and preach to all the Gōpālas (Gauṛas), taking refuge at the feet of Çrī-Hari. Among the Gauṛas I am called *Mahata*. The husband of Kamaḷā (*i. e.*, the god Hari) has taken mercy upon me. This prayer to Çrī Gōpinātha's feet—Oh yellow-robed!—preserve the poet Acyuta Dāsa. The seven-volumed *Harivaṃṣa* is finished; Acyuta Dāsa meditates on Lord Gōvinda's feet.”

Hunter's list (Vol. II, p. 197) credits this Acyutānanda Dāsa with a *Sapta Bhāgavata* which is evidently a mistake for the *Sātakhaṇḍī-ā Haribaṃsa*. The list also ascribes two smaller pieces to him: (1) *Ananta Gōyi* or the eternal mystery, and (2) *Acyutānanda Mālikā* or the prophecies of Acyutānanda.

The other religious works in Oriya are, as might be expected in the land of Jagannātha, mostly Vaiṣṇavite. They may be roughly divided into:—

(1) Paurāṇic, such as translations of Çiva Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa, Mārkaṇḍa Purāṇa, and of the various periodical Māhātmyas, as Kārttika, Māgha, Vaiçākha, Ekādaçī;

(2) Poems, as Dharaṇī Dhara's translation of Gītagōvinda, and the translation of Hamsadūta;

(3) Jagannātha worship—as *Guṇḍicābijē* or the procession of Jagannātha on his car to *Guṇḍicā*, the summer house; *Dārubrahma*, and the *Dē-ōla Tōlā*—an account of the origin of the god and his temple; translation of *Puruṣōttama Māhātmya*, etc.

These works appeared later, and have no such special literary merits as to deserve detailed notice. In the next part will be treated the chief Oriyā poets and this will conclude my sketch of Oriyā literature.¹

¹ In Oriyā pronunciation, the consonants v, y, and ç are hardened to b, j, and z respectively; hence the difference in transliteration.

PART IV. THE LATER OṚIYĀ POETS.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The works of the following authors will be dealt with in this article. They form the most important part of the Oṛiyā literature.

1. Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa (दीनकृष्ण दास).
2. Upēndra Bhañja (उपेन्द्र भञ्ज).
3. Bhūpati Paṇḍita (भूपति पण्डित).
4. Bhaktacarāṇa Dāsa (भक्तचरण दास).
5. Bisvanātha Khuṇṭi-ā (विश्वनाथ खुण्डिआ).
6. Lōkanātha Dāsa (लोकनाथ दास).
7. Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā (सदानन्द कविसूर्यब्रह्मा).
8. Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra (अभिमन्यु सामन्तसिंहार).

In the treatment of the subject-matter, etc., the poets differ so little from one another, that a few preliminary remarks will suffice to point out the general characteristics of Oṛiyā poetry, and enable me to dispense with the detailed discussion of each poem. The remarks may be noted under the following heads :—

- (a) The subject-matter.
- (b) The versification.
- (c) The sentiment.

On examining the narrative parts of these poems, two general tendencies are perceptible, one *religious*, the other *fictional*. The religious tendency is exclusively Vaiṣṇavite. By the time serious compositions had been begun in Oṛiyā, Īvaism in spite of its stronghold at Bhuvanēṣvara, and Ćāktism in spite of its prevalence at Jājapura, had ceased to influence the popular mind. Viṣṇu-worship was in full swing and naturally Oṛiyā poetry reflected this popular bent.

Viṣṇu was worshipped in various forms. One such form was Jagannātha, whose temple and worship at Purī still attract thousands of pilgrims. His rites were well-known to the above authors, who either resided at Purī or visited it on pilgrimage. Upēndra Bhañja translated into Oṛiyā verse the local Māhātmya, and Dinakṛṣṇa described the well-known Ratha festival in his *Gundicābijē*. In spite, however, of the veneration for Jagannātha in Orissa, his worship failed to be a great religion because it had no great epic or Purāṇa to fall back upon, and because it had no special organisation to propagate its doctrines. The priests and their agents busied themselves mainly in drawing pilgrims to the shrine and not in proselytising them into a sect; while no great scholar or preacher arose to elaborate the dogmas in any famous poem or religious work.

Rāma-worship, another variant of Vaiṣṇavism was somewhat more successful in Oriyā poetry. The Rāmāyaṇa has always been the most favourite of Sanskrit poems; and the Rāmāts who came on pilgrimage or resided at Puri in the various *maths* generally exercised considerable influence. Hence the career of Rāma was often selected for the subject-matter, such as Upēndra Bhañja's Baidēhisabiḷāsa, Bisvanātha Khuṇṭi-ā's Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa, Sadāsiba Dāsa's Rāmaliḷā. But on the whole, it failed to be popular in Orissa because the Rāmāts were few in number and chiefly confined to Puri, and because it had to contend with the powerful influence of Caitanya and his disciples.

The most prevalent form of Vaiṣṇavism was and still is in Orissa the **Kṛṣṇa-worship**. I shall not burden this article with the origin and history of this great religion, interesting as the subject is, because long before the beginning of serious poetry, Kṛṣṇa-worship had become the favourite religion in Orissa. But since then Kṛṣṇa-worship underwent an important modification. Gradually a feminine element was added to the male type of divinity, and the worship of Kṛṣṇa alone was superseded by the joint worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. A similar and parallel transformation from the single to the dual type is traceable in the gradual development of Īvaism into Īaktism, and also in the Buddhist hierarchy.

The name of Rādhā is comparatively modern. It is not to be found either in the Vēdic works or in the older Sanskrit classics and Purāṇas. The Harivaṃṣa, the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the triple Bible of the Vaiṣṇavites, are silent about her.¹ The earliest authentic mention of Rādhā is to be found in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa and in Jayadēva's Gītagōvinda.² Brahmavaivarta's date is

¹ The following passage of Īmadbhāgavata is twisted to mean a reference to Rādhā, but obviously it does not.

अनयाराधितो नूनं भगवान् हरिरीश्वरः ।

यन्नो विहाय गोविन्दः प्रीतो यामनयद्रहः ॥ २२ ॥

Bh. 10th Sk. 30th Adh. 28rd Īlōka.

"Evidently God Hari was devoutly prayed by this (lady), for Gōvinda has taken her (alone) to privacy leaving us behind."

Another passage (same Adhyāya 34th Īlōka) is quoted by the author of Caitanyacaritāmṛta as referring to Rādhā, but the text does not even mention her (Ādilīlā 6th parichēda).

² In Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, Rūpa Gōsvāmī quotes one passage as being from Padma Purāṇa.

यथा राधा प्रियाविष्णोस्त्वयाः कुण्डं प्रियं तथा ।

सर्वगोपौषु सेवेका विष्णोरत्यन्तवञ्जभा ॥

l. c. Cai. Car. Mr. Ādilīlā 4th pari.

unknown, probably not earlier than tenth century A.D. Jayadēva flourished in the twelfth century. Rādhā-worship cannot therefore be earlier than ninth century and possibly later. She appears to have been evolved out of the Tāntric wave in East India, which gave rise to the worship of Tārā and Vajra-Yōginī in Buddhism, and to that of Durgā and Kālī in Īvaism.

The prevalence of Rādhā-worship in Orissa is largely due to the Bengal Vaiṣṇavites. Jayadēva's exquisite poem was much appreciated by Ōriyā scholars, and five hundred years ago was ordered by the king Pratāpa Rudra to be sung every evening before Jagannātha to the exclusion of all other songs. Jayadēva's example in treating Rādhā as divine was followed in the Bengali vernacular by other poets, such as Bidyāpati, Caṇḍī Dās, Gōbinda Dās. Then came Caitanya, the great preacher of Nabadvīp. Partly influenced by the above poets and partly by the Vallabhācāris at Mathurā, he took to preaching Rādhā-cultism, and was ably assisted by his numerous disciples in Orissa and elsewhere. The worship of Rādhā became the most prominent part of his rituals, and after his death he himself came to be regarded as an incarnation jointly of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.¹ The preachings of Caitanya and his

"As Rādhā is the favourite of Viṣṇu, so her Kuṇḍa is his favourite. Among all the Gōpīs she alone is the most beloved of Viṣṇu."

The passage seems spurious. Padma Purāṇa is notorious for its large later additions, and even then no second śloka is forthcoming in that voluminous work about Rādhā. Besides, Kṛṣṇa and not Viṣṇu should be associated with her. Furthermore if the author of Caitanyacaritāmṛta is to be believed (Madhyalīlā, 18th parichēda), Rādhā-Kuṇḍa was first discovered by Caitanya, and hence could not have been mentioned in Padma Purāṇa composed several centuries earlier.

Another passage is sometimes quoted to indicate the antiquity of Rādhā (Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra).

देवीकृष्णमयीप्रोक्ता राधिका परदेवता ।

सर्वलक्ष्मीमयी सर्वैकान्तिः सन्मोहिनी परा ॥

"Dēvī Rādhikā, it is said, is rapt in Kṛṣṇa, the highest divinity, possessor of all prosperity and beauty, all-charming, the highest."

If the śloka be genuine, it does not affect my arguments. The date of Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra is uncertain, but it cannot be much old, as all Tantras are comparatively modern and generally date from eighth century downwards.

¹ राधाकृष्णप्रणयविकृतिर्हृदिनीशक्तिरस्मा-

देकात्मनावपि भुवि पुरा देहभेदज्ञतो तो ।

चैतन्याद्यां प्रकटमधुना तद्द्वयैक्यमात्रं

राधाभावद्युतिसुवर्णितं नौमि कृष्णस्वरूपं ॥

Rūpa Gōsvāmī's Karacā, l. c. Cait. Car. Ādilīlā, 4th pari.

"Rādhā is but transformation of Kṛṣṇa's love, his hladinī power. Essentially

disciples made numerous converts in Orissa who now pass as Gauṛiyās, and further more created a religious ferment that gave rise to several subsects, such as Atibāris, Bindudhāris, Kabirājis, Kālindi Vaiṣṇavas, and others. All of them accept the dual type (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa) as their fundamental doctrine.

This change in the popular religious feelings acted on the poets. The songs were influenced quickly as they needed little learning and represented the first ebullitions. The chief poets were affected more slowly, because all of them knew Sanskrit, and the Bhāgavata and Harivaṃṣa were silent about Rādhā. The earlier poets Dinakṛṣṇa, Upendra Bhañja, and Bhaktacaraṇa dealt but little about her. In Dinakṛṣṇa's Rasakallōḷa, Rādhā is named only in three places.¹ Upendra Bhañja rarely mentions her in his voluminous compositions. In Mathurā-Maṅgaḷa two cantos are devoted to Rādhā (28th and 29th); but otherwise she is mentioned in three places only. In Bhūpati Paṇḍita's Prēmapañcāmṛta, the divine importance of Rādhā had been fully established, but other Gōpis are still given some prominence. In the two latest poets, Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā, and Abhimanyu Sāmantasinhāra, Rādhā-worship superseded even Kṛṣṇa, and the other Gōpis sank into insignificance. Their poems are full of her praises.

The other tendency in the selection of the subject-matter was towards fiction, purely imaginary stories as distinguished from the mythological. This fictional element was less strong, and appeared later both in Sanskrit and Vernacular. Imaginary tales were usually of two kinds, viz., a collection of short tales strung together by a slight connecting thread, or a continuous story with a hero and a heroine. In Sanskrit several examples of the first kind may be found, such as the Pañcatantra and its variant the Hitopadeṣa, the Bṛhatkathā (as known in the version Kathāsaritsāgara), and Daṣakumāracarita, with which may be compared the Buddhistic Jātaka stories and the Sanskrito-Buddhist Avadānakalpalatā. In Oriyā such a type is wanting. The nearest approach to it is to be found in Dinakṛṣṇa's Pratāpasindhu which is a collection of maxims and short stories like the Pañcatantra. The other kind which is best exemplified in Sanskrit by Subandhu's Vāsavadattā and Bāna's Kādambarī, found a more fruitful soil in Oriyā. Upendra Bhañja composed some twenty romances, while the

one, (for enjoyment) they appeared before in two separate bodies. They two have now appeared in one named Caitanya. Him, so full of Rādhā's sentiments and brightness, and so filled with Kṛṣṇa's attributes, I salute."

¹ Rasakallōḷa 10th Ch. l. 10 (cf. ls. 1-16); 20th Ch. l. 18 (cf. 1-24); 31st Ch. l. 1, (cf. ls. 1-18 30th Ch.).

poems of Lōkanātha and the three early poems of Abhimanyu are purely fictional. Poems of similar nature are also mentioned in Hunter's list, such as Balabhadra Bhañja's Bhābabatī, Haricandra Dēva's Līlābatī, Padmaḷābha Dēva's Prabhābatī. Their contents are however yet unknown.

The framework of the romances is practically so uniform that it may be generalised by the following sketch. The story opens with the description of a beauteous girl attending on Pārvatī or Rādhā (Lakṣmī) in the heaven. Some prince (occasionally a Rṣi) sees her and falls in love with her who returns his love. For this Pārvatī or Rādhā curses her to take birth as woman; but on her entreaties changes the curse to human life with the lover as husband. The girl is born as a princess, and the lover as a prince. Their childhood and youth are then described. The one hears of the other, and falls in love. After some manœuvring they meet and fall more deeply in love. This gradually leads to marriage (occasionally Gāndharva marriage). A few months are spent in happiness, and then the lovers are separated by a *deus ex machina*. Each is obliged to live one year apart from the other. Several cantos then describe the griefs of the lovers and their passionate outbursts as one season passes and the other arrives. By grace of the goddess they are re-united and henceforth live a happy life. They become king and queen, and after death are taken back into the heavens.

The next head is **versification** which includes the prosody, the selection of words and their signification—in short the outer frame of poetry as distinguished from the inner spirit. An Oriyā poem is divided into parts which are named Chānda (canto); and the Chānda is divided into pādas (stanzas) that are made up of two to six lines. All the lines rhyme; blank verses are unknown. The pādas can often be scanned according to rules of Sanskrit prosody, but sometimes they are not. This arises from the fact that all Oriyā poetry, if not translations of Sanskrit religious works, are intended to be sung, and not simply to be read. Hence many pādas cannot be scanned, if simply read; while in singing there arises no difficulty, as the vowels may be shortened or lengthened according to the convenience of the singer. For this reason too, the Chāndas are much shorter than the cantos of Sanskrit classics, not generally containing more than a hundred pādas. Each Chānda is also set to a tune. These tunes are largely Sanskritic, but have also a fair number of local airs, as I have already pointed out under the head of songs.

As regards the selection and signification of words the Oriyā poets follow the rules of Sanskrit rhetoric as closely as the language permits.

Hence verbal formations and word jingles, which are reckoned as excellences in Sanskrit rhetorics, freely abound. The entire canto, or the entire poem begins every line with the one and same letter, as *ka*, *ba*, *ca*; or each stanza begins with the consecutive letters of the alphabet (*a* to *kṣa*); or they have lines without any vowel except *a* or without any conjunct consonants at all. Alliterations, and other kinds of repetitions of the same letters or group of letters (*yamakas* or *anuprāsas*) are lavishly used. Similes (*upamās*), metaphors (*rūpakas*), opposite meanings (*virōdhabhāṣas*), double and triple meanings, allusions to and analogies from Sanskrit classics are scattered "thick as leaves in Vallombrosa." The Oṛiyā language being too simple and too undeveloped to bear so much ornamentation, the poets have borrowed profusely from the immense vocabulary of Sanskrit with its numberless synonyms, antonyms and compound formations. The wild luxuriance of these rhetorical forms in Oṛiyā poetry it is impossible to describe; but some idea may be formed by studying the Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī of Upendra Bhaṇja and the Bidagdha-cintāmaṇi of Abhimanyu Sāmantasimbhāra.

Many of these formations are real poetic excellences, and many a line show pretty conceits, surprising fancies, appropriate illustrations, or happy combinations of words. They generally indicate a fairly complete mastery over Sanskrit rules and vocabulary. One's admiration is further enhanced, when he takes into consideration the imperfections of the vernacular and the general ignorance of the mass. At the same time the inordinate use of unfamiliar words and word-combinations and the constant straining after mere verbal excellences have produced various defects, such as unintelligibility, artificiality, over-ornamentation, and unsuccessful formations. Hardly any poem can be understood without a *ṭīkā* or commentary, and hence the lines lose the force and the vividness of impression that common familiar words would have conveyed. Then again the too exclusive attention to ornamentation of words—the mere husk and shell of poetry—has led to the neglect of the inner essence, and has made the poets careless about the natural development of plots, the evolution of characters, or the enframing of high thoughts.

Hence under the third head—the sentiment—the workmanship was in general crude, incoherent and not elevating. The ideal followed was that adopted in the later Sanskrit classics (Naiṣadha, Çiçupālavadha). This Sanskrit ideal was defective compared with modern standard. Humour was wanting entirely. Vigor and energy were absent in the male characters, and a low view of women was inculcated. The characters were not properly and consistently developed. The action of the

external events on human feelings and thoughts was not often painted in a careful or powerful fashion. On account of the low view of women, obscene descriptions crept in, descriptions which would not be tolerated in any modern works. All these defects were intensified in the Oriyā poems. Obscenities were multiplied. The hero becomes an unnatural man, selfish, exclusively bent on gratifying his sensual passions, and bursting into tears or passionate outbursts at slight obstacles. The heroine is painted with the same brush, impatient, without any self-restraint or self-sacrificing spirit so well-known in Indian wives and mothers, and as much inclined as the hero to gratify the physical desires. In truth the Oriyā poets busied themselves so much with polishing and decorating the outer frame, that they quite neglected to develop the inner spirit.

DĪNAKṚṢṆA DĀSA.

With these general remarks, I now proceed to discuss the poets individually. The earliest poet is Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa. Very little is known about him. According to traditions gathered at Purī, Dinakṛṣṇa is older than Upendra Bhañja. The latter's Baidēhisabīlāsa is said to have been modelled after Rasakallōḷa; and when the similarity was pointed out to Upendra by his father, he composed his well-known poem Lābanyabatī. A couplet is repeated in which Dinakṛṣṇa questions as an elder poet, and Upendra replies obediently as a younger poet. A pair of couplets are repeated in which Upendra Bhañja refers with respect to Dinakṛṣṇa.¹ A consideration of the style and the subject-matter lends support to this traditional priority of Dinakṛṣṇa. Upendra Bhañja flourished about the end of the seventeenth century; Dinakṛṣṇa's date might therefore be taken as the third quarter of that century. He cannot be much older. For apart from tradition, his Rasakallōḷa refers to Rukmaṇi Cautisā which is evidently based on Jagannātha Dāsa's Bhāgabata—a work of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. This fact points to a difference of at least one hundred years between Jagannātha Dāsa and the author of Rasakallōḷa.

¹ उपेन्द्र बीरवर टेकि वेनि वाचाकु ।

रवितले कविपणे न गणइ काहाकु ॥

जयदेव दीनकृष्ण पादे मोर शरण ।

आउ सवु कविङ्कर साथे वाम चरण ॥

“Bīrabara Upendra, raising his arms, deems none a real poet under the sun. I pay my obeisance at the feet of Jayadeva and Dinakṛṣṇa, but put my left leg on the heads of all the other poets.”

According to Puri traditions, he was a Bhaṛu-ā, an illegitimate class attending on dancing girls and playing on musical instruments in accompaniment to their dancing and singing. He led at first a struggling life, and later on became a Vaiṣṇava. He is said to have resided at Puri and died there. Corroboration of these facts is found in his works. His illegitimacy partially explains his great humility, and probably led him to select Vasiṣṭha as the speaker in his *Pratāpasindhu*. Vasiṣṭha was known to the author as the son of a prostitute.¹ His Vaiṣṇavite tendency and his residence at Puri his works fully show. For unknown reasons he was absent from Puri for some time, as a couple of stanzas² in the *Rasakallōḷa* would seem to indicate. He knew Jagannātha and his daily services intimately.³ Dīnakṛṣṇa is said not to be his original name, but to have been given at the time of his initiation as a Vaiṣṇava.

Dīnakṛṣṇa composed several works, of which I have seen in

¹ The poet remarks that every object in this world has some defect or other :—

निकलङ्क पद्म के पाद गहि (?) ।

कलङ्क पुणि सुवुडारे अहि ॥ १७६ ॥

“Who can find out a nelumbium without stain? Blots are found in every object.”

Then he goes on illustrating this. After quoting several examples he says :—

वसिष्ठ ऋषिङ्क कलङ्क अहि ।

वेष्ठापुत्र बोलि समखे वाहि ॥ १८६ ॥ *Pratāpasindhu* MS., Fol. 14.

“(Even) Vasiṣṭha Ṛṣi has his blot. He is known to all as a prostitute’s son.”

² करिथिला आश, से चेचे निवास,

करिवाकु दीनकृष्ण ।

कि अभाग्यु तहिँ, न पारिला रहि,

प्रभु नोहिले सदृष ॥ २६ ॥

कर्म थिला याचा, भोग हेला ताचा,

के ताचा करिव आन ।

करमकरता, कइवस्यदाता,

येवे नोहिले प्रसन्न ॥ २७ ॥ R. K., 24th Ch., p. 89.

“To reside in that *kṣētra* (land), Dīnakṛṣṇa had wished; what bad fate is his—he could not stay there, the Lord not favouring. [26]. What was in his fate, he has to suffer. Who can do otherwise, if fate’s master, the giver of salvation, smileth not upon him? [27].”

³ *Rasakallōḷa*, 19th Ch., 14–24; *Guṇḍicābijā*, and others.

manuscript *Pratāpasindhu*, and in print *Rasakallōla*, *Guṇḍicābijē* and *Ārtatrāṇa Cautisā*.¹ *Guṇḍicābijē* describes the car festival of Jagannātha; *Ārtatrāṇa Cautisā* is a prayer to Jagannātha for deliverance. *Pratāpasindhu* is larger and occupies in manuscript 131 folios with three lines on each page. The poem purports to have been delivered by the sage Vasiṣṭha in answer to Daṣaratha. It contains maxims mostly culled from Sanskrit, with illustrative examples and stories. Occasionally Sanskrit ślōkas are quoted and translated. The versification is simple and has no special merit. Among maxims a very low view of woman's reliability is prominent.

It is on *Rasakallōla* that Dīnakṛṣṇa's fame rests. The work is in 34 Chāndas with 20 to 99 stanzas in each. Its subject-matter is the early pastoral life of ̐ri-Kṛṣṇa and is based on the 10th Skandha of the Bhāgavata. The first Chānda is introductory; the 2nd to 10th deal with the birth and adolescence of Kṛṣṇa; 11th to 17th describe the various seasons beginning with winter and the amorous sports of ̐ri-Kṛṣṇa with the Gōpīs in each season; 18th to 24th poetise the Rasalīlā or the dance and dalliance of Kṛṣṇa and the Gōpīs in the groves of Br̐ndābana; 25th to 29th narrate his march to Mathurā and the slaying of its demon king Kamsa; the last five cantos are taken up in describing the griefs of Kṛṣṇa and of the Gōpīs on account of separation, and the embassy of Urdhaba to Br̐ndābana under orders of Kṛṣṇa. The plot is thus familiar to most and appeals strongly to the religious instinct of the highly conservative Oriyās.

In versification the peculiarity of *Rasakallōla* is that every line of a stanza begins with one and same letter *ka*—a very difficult task in the case of a whole poem. On the whole, however, the sentences are more intelligible than in many poems of Upēndra Bhañja. Good descriptions of natural sceneries, though of the conventional type, are not rare; while poetical passages reckoned excellences according to the rules of Sanscrit rhetorics, abound.² Some of the closing lines are personal,

¹ Hunter's list names nine more:—Cakradharabīlāsa, Madhusudanabīlāsa, Madhabakara Gītā, Bāramāsa Kō-īlī, Jagamōhana, Sāmudrika, Guṇa Sāgara, Ujjvala-nīlamanīkārīkā, Rādhā Kanaca (?), Dvādasakuñjalīlā, and Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Bālī. I have seen in print Bāramāsa Kō-īlī; it is not Dīna Kṛṣṇa's. I have also seen in manuscript a Guṇa Gnyāna Sāgara of one Bhābi-ā Dāsa. Some of the works enumerated, such as the medical works, are not probably of Dīnakṛṣṇa.

² For some of the rhetorically fine passages the reader may be referred to the description of the various seasons (11th, 12th, 15th and 17th Chāndas), and to the description of Rādhā's beauty (10th Chānda). In mere rhetorical excellences, however, the author cannot vie with Upēndra Bhañja or Abhimanyu Sāmanta-simhāra.

and are much soberer and often forcible. Two such passages which are free from obscenity are extracted to give an idea of his poetry.

1. कोटि ए कोटि कौटे मूँ एक ।
 केते मोर बुद्धि केते विवेक ॥ ३० ॥
 केअवा लेखिव गगन तारा ।
 केअवा गणिव बरषाधारा ॥
 के संख्या करिव सिन्धुलहरी ।
 के पारिव पयोनिधि पहरि ॥
 केअवा एहा करि पारिव ।
 कृष्ण महिमा कहि न पारिव ॥ ३१ ॥

R. K. 5th Chānda, p. 16.

“In the midst of crores after crores of insects I am only one. How little is my intelligence, my power of moral discrimination. [30]. Who can write out the stars of the sky; who can count the raindrops; who can take stock of the sea waves; who can dare swim across the ocean? even this may be possible; but the glory of Kṛṣṇa none can describe. [31].”

2. कलि ये तुम्ह नाम कुसुम, यतन करि माळा सुसम
 ताहा मूलाइ नेवाकु केहि नोहिले क्षम हे ।
 केवल माळाकार पराये मूहिल न घेनिल थोकाए
 के अक्कि नेव काहा करम एडे उत्तम हे ॥
 केहि नाहिं वेष्टित धम्मिल्लवन्त ये ।
 करिवाकु ए माळ कण्ठे लम्बित हे ।
 करुक्कि मने विचार एते, जगत याक अक्कन्ति येते
 सामवेदिङ्ग व्रत वेश ए हेले सन्तत ये । २७ ।

R. K. 16th Chānda, p. 63.

“(Oh Lord!) The name-flowers of thine I have strung with care into a lovely wreath, which none is so fit to take by paying its equivalent. Like the wreath-maker, I myself could not take even a part; who so fortunate, that would take it? None there is all round so braided-haired (*i.e.*, blessed), that can put this garland round his neck. Thus am I thinking in my mind,—the people of this world have constantly become habited like the Sāmabēdist, (*i.e.* shavelings, and therefore unfit to put on the garland). [27].”

BHAKTACARAṆA DĀSA.

As Mathurāmangala appears to be a supplement of Rasakallōḷa that work will be taken up here, though strictly it might be somewhat later than Upēndra Bhaṭṭa's poems. The author calls himself Bhaktacarana Dāsa. No traditions are available about him. He repeatedly calls himself a bairāgi.¹ He probably visited Puri, for he mentions the "Guṇḍicābijē" of Jagannātha (10th Chānda, stanza 6). The name Bhaktacarana seems to be an adopted name after initiation into Vaiṣṇavism.

The Mathurāmangala is a poem in 30 Chāndas with 14 to 106 stanzas in each. The subject-matter is the exploits of ̐ri-Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā. These exploits have been described in Rasakallōḷa, 25th to 33rd Chāndas, but is here amplified into 29 cantos. Hence this poem appears to be later, though from the prominence still given to Gōpīs generally, it could not have been much later. Its date might be approximately put to the first quarter of the 18th century. In versification and sentiment the author appears to have closely imitated the Rasakallōḷa. The verses are simpler, and less loaded with Sanskrit words; but have on the whole much less poetical excellences than in Dīnakṛṣṇa's poem. The author is rather peculiar in heaping similes to illustrate the same idea, an example of which is quoted below² :—

कृष्ण बोलन्ति श्रुय रमणीवृन्द ।
 कर्पूर समान कि भास्वर गन्ध गो ।
 पद्म समान काहिँ हेव कुटज ।
 समान कला लोक सिना निर्झञ्ज । १० ।
 पाट टसर काहिँ समान मूळ ।
 हीरा सङ्गे स्फटिक हेव कि तूळ ।
 पित्तळ नोहे कळधउत सम ।
 चन्द्र पारशे काहिँ रहिव तम ॥ ११ ॥
 सेहि प्रकारे केहि मथुरानारी ।
 से हेवे तुम्ह केउ गुणरे सरि ।

Math. Maṇ. 8th Chānda, p. 23.

"Kṛṣṇa said—"Hear, oh ye ladies! Can *bhāskara* (the ordinary camphor) smell as well as *̐ri-karpura* (the essence of camphor); can

¹ Math. Maṇ. 3rd Ch. 26; 13th Ch. 16; 15th Ch. 22; 18th Ch. 16; 23rd Ch. 54; 29th Ch. 38.

² For another example of such heaping, see 9th Chānda 11-15, p. 26.

the wild flower bear comparison to the nelumbium? The man that puts them on the same level must be shameless. [10]. Can jute have the same value as silk; can glass be compared to diamond? Brass cannot be equal to silver; darkness cannot stay where the moon is. Similarly what ladies of Mathurā can equal ye (Gōpa girls)?”

BHŪPATI PAṆḌITA.

The early Oṛiyā poems about Kṛṣṇa may be completed with Bhūpati Paṇḍita's Prēmapañcāmṛta. In the last Adhyāya of that work the author gives an account of himself.¹ A Sārasvata Brāhmin from up-country he came to Orissa and attended the court of the king Divyasiṃha Dēva. His poetical talents so much pleased the king that he gave him land with cash. He resided at Rathipura Kaṭaka. Caitanya Dāsa, a Vaiṣṇava at Purī was his great friend, and under his instructions he composed the poem. Its writing was finished on Monday evening, the ṣukla trayōdaśi of the month makara, 18th aṅka of the king Diḃyasimha Dēva. According to Prof. Jacobi's Tables taken with Mādala Pāñji,² makara ṣukla trayōdaśi fell on Monday, the 3rd February, 1707 A.D. Bhūpati Paṇḍita is thus a contemporary of Upendra Bhañja.

The Prēmapañcāmṛta is a religious poem in ten Adhyāyas, and has been printed. It describes the rasaliḷā of Ṣṛi-Kṛṣṇa and the Gōpīs, but the original story has been amplified by the description of an imaginary pilgrimage of Vasudēva (7th Adhy.) and by metaphysical disquisitions of the Caitanya's school. The lines are bald and generally unornamented. The versification is of the style adopted by Jagannātha Dāsa in his Bhāgabata. An extract is given here to show the author's conceptions about Rādhā:—

परम आत्मा भगवान् । राधिका जीव आत्मा जाय ॥ ३ ॥
 राधिका अंशे येते गोपी । से कृष्ण जीवन स्वरूपी ॥ ४ ॥
 परमे मिश्रि पारे जीव । आनकु अटे असम्भव ॥ ५ ॥
 जीव परम एक जाय । भोग संयोगे भिन्न भिन्न ॥ ६ ॥
 येसने वीज वेनिपाळ । एक से नुहन्ति युगळ ॥ ७ ॥
 द्वि अर्द्ध एक पूर्ण होइ । एणु से एक अङ्ग दुइ ॥ ८ ॥
 ये पारे गोपी अङ्गे पश्रि । से पारे कृष्ण अङ्गे मिश्रि ॥ ९ ॥

2nd Adhyāya, p. 11.

¹ The passage (10th Adhyāya lines 194–238), though long is interesting, and is given *in extenso* in App. III.

² See App. IV. for “the later kings of Khōrdā” beginning with this Divyasiṃha Dēva.

“Bhagabāna is the *parama ātmā* (the Highest Being); Rādhikā is *Jīva ātmā* (the Individual Being). [3]. The Gōpis in the Rādhikā's portion, are but so much life of Kṛṣṇa. [4]. The Individual can be absorbed into the Highest (*i.e.* the Infinite); for others, this is impossible. [5]. Know that the Individual and the Infinite are one (in essence), and different only in enjoyment and union. [6]. Just as a seed is bilobed; but really single and not double; [7], both halves forming one whole, and hence one body divided into two. [8]. He who can get into the body of the Gōpis, can get absorbed into the body of Kṛṣṇa. [9].”

UPĒNDRA BHAÑJA.

The fictional school begins with UPĒNDRA BHAÑJA. He is the most famous of Ōriyā poets. His time can be ascertained approximately. In his *Rasalēkhā* he wrote—

दिव्य सिंह गजपति अङ्क सप्त विंशति
शेषदिने शेष एङ्ग गीत ।

R. L. 22nd Chānda, l. 17, p. 96.

“This poem was finished on the last date of the 27th Aṅka of the Gajapati king Divyasimha.” Divyasimha began to rule in 1692-93,¹ and his 27th Aṅka or 21st year fell in 1713-4 A.D. The last date of the aṅka (simha ṇukla ēkādaṇi) was 21st August, 1714 A.D., a Tuesday. As *Rasalēkhā* appears to have been one of his later poems, Upēndra Bhañja may be said to have flourished in the beginning of the 18th century.

He belonged to the royal family of Gumusara. Gumusara is a petty hill state forming the north-westernmost corner of the District Ganjām, Presidency Madras. The surname Bhañja was the patronymic title of the family. The author names his ancestors in *Rasapañcaka* last page as follows² :—

¹ For a discussion of his reign see App. IV. “The later kings of Khōrdā.”

² कङ्केश वंश, होइ प्रकाश । अमे घुसुरे हेले नरेश ॥ १६ ॥

कुन्देन्दुकीर्ति, रणरण कान्ति । रणेश्वर रणभञ्ज नृपति ॥

छशानु वेज, ताङ्क तनुज । छतर प्रताप प्रतापभञ्ज ॥ १७ ॥

कनिष्ठ सून, ताङ्क भूषण । करि गोपौनाथ नाम विदित ॥

कवि खपवर, ताङ्क कुमर । कहि धनञ्जय नाम ताङ्कर ॥ १८ ॥

काश्यपीकान्त, ताङ्काङ्क सून । छतर नौलकष भञ्जसून ॥

कुमर ज्येष्ठ, ताङ्कर श्रेष्ठ । कविपणरे अति परिनिष्ठ ॥ १९ ॥

1. Rana Bhañja
|
son
2. Pratāpa Bhañja
|
youngest son
3. Gōpinātha
|
son
4. Dhanañjaya
|
son
5. Niḷakanṭha
married Kāsyapi
|
eldest son
6. Upēndra Bhañja.

The *Gumusara Bāṁsābaḷi* does not mention Upēndra Bhañja, but names his ancestors up to Niḷakanṭha. In a colorless manner it narrates a series of intrigues and murders, revolts and civil wars, startling enough even for a melodrama.¹ Dhanañjaya, the grandfather of Upēndra, ruled long, and in his old age like the emperor *Shāhjahān* turned sensual. He married several wives who had numerous children. When the Rāja became too old, his queens with their sons began to quarrel amongst themselves. The old man, Dhanañjaya, was poisoned by his favourite queen Hāru Dē-i, and his death brought on a civil war. Upēndra's father, Niḷakanṭha, who was his son by the above Hāru Dē-i, succeeded in seizing the throne. But he could rule only for two years. He was attacked on both sides by the partisans of the eldest queen's infant grandson, and was driven out of the kingdom.

Upēndra Bhañja was the eldest son of this unfortunate Niḷakanṭha. In all probability he was old enough to have participated in the

"The family of sun (lotus' master) appearing, gradually became kings in *Gumusara*. [16]. With fame white like moon and *Kunda* flower, with glory bright, master of battles, appeared the King Rana Bhañja. Of him was born Pratāpa Bhañja, fiery in vigor, from deeds powerful. [17]. His youngest son, by name Gōpinātha, became King. His son was named Dhanañjaya, the poet King. [18]. His son was Niḷakanṭha Bhañja the good, the grateful, the husband of Kāsyapi. His eldest and best prince (am I), well-grounded in poetical powers. [19]."

Some of these successions are also mentioned in *Lābanyabatī*, 16th *Chānda*, stanzas 39-42, p. 65, and *Baidēhisabīlāsa* 52nd Ch. lines 47-50, p. 536.

¹ The portion of the *Bāṁsābaḷi* bearing on Upēndra's ancestors is quoted *in extenso* in App. V.

fratricidal struggle.¹ After expulsion Nīlakaṇṭha settled, according to tradition, in the adjoining state of Nayāgara. In that state how long Upendra resided is not known. He visited the Puruṣōttama Kṣētra apparently frequently, as he knew it intimately.² Outside Orissa he might have travelled, of which travel some faint indications are traceable in his poems. By religion he was a Vaiṣṇavite, leaning to Rāma-worship, as his numerous closing lines and the Baidēhisabīlāsa the poem on the career of Rāma testify.

Upendra Bhañja was a prolific author and composed some forty-three poems. The chronological sequence of these works cannot generally be ascertained. Probably most of the songs were among his earliest compositions, and Campadibhūṣaṇa is referred to in the early contemporaneous work, Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa. Baidēhisabīlāsa, according to tradition preceded the Lābanyabati. The Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī seems to be a work of matured years. The Citrakābya was composed much later and in its introduction refers to a large number of works, thus establishing a broad line of demarcation in point of time.³

¹ The following stanza in Rasikahārābali (8th Ch. 25th stanza) might have some reference to his father's loss of the throne :—

राजाङ्गु हेवार राज्य नष्ट । युवाङ्गु हेवार पत्नीभ्रष्ट ॥
कहे उपेन्द्र, बीरवर भञ्ज, एयुँ वलि आउ नाहि कष्ट ॥ २५ ॥

"For a king to lose his kingdom, for a young man to lose his wife—says Upendra Bhañja Birabara—no misfortune can be greater than these. [25]."

² Upendra translated the Puruṣōttama Māhātmya, and composed the Rasikahārābali, a romance of that place. The Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī also begins with a description of Jagannātha's temple and festivals.

³ एणु ए कवि विचारइ चिते । कलि मू अनेक प्रकाश गिते । ९ ।
अशेष चउतिश चउपदि । ताहा केतेटि कहिवि सम्यादि । १० ।
गाहा दीहा षोडचेन्दु ऋपोद । इत्यादि कविल गणना नाहि । ११ ।
रसकव्यविषय येते ग्रन्थ । चितोइ तइ किहि लेखे येथ । १२ ।
पुराण हांकि कल्पना माधुरि । चार चित्रलेखा हेममञ्जरी । १३ ।
रसलेखा कामकळा रचित । मनोरमा प्रेमखता सुगित । १४ ।
भाववती मुक्तावती प्रमाण । वरजलीला ये हान्दभूषण । १५ ।
षड्वटु कळाकउतुकर । कनियम साय सुभद्रासार । १६ ।
वैदेहीश विलास सेहि वाद्य । प्रसिद्ध अवनो द्वादश हान्द । १७ ।
रामलीलावन्त खेप रचित । प्रेमसुधानिधि यमके स्थित । १८ ।
रसिकद्वारावली नामे गीत । कुञ्जविहारादि प्रह्लादचरित । १९ ।
अळङ्कार रीति रसपद्मक । लावण्यवती रसिकतोषक । २० ।
पुष्पोत्तम माहात्म्य रचन । नाना कोष शब्दे गीताभिधान । २१ ।

Thirty-two poems are herein named. In addition Hunter's list specifies the following :—Candrakalā, Candrarākhā, Icchābatī, Kalābatī, Rahāsa-līlā, Rasamañjarī, Saṅgitakaumudī, Sasirēkhā, Sōbhābatī and Subarna-rēkhā. The last I have seen, and in one passage it admits its posterity by referring to Rasikahārābañjī and Prēmasudhānidhi.¹

All these works cannot be discussed in detail in this limited article, but their subject-matters may be classified in the following way :—

A. Songs :—

1. Cautisā (चउतिसा).
2. Caupadibhūṣaṇa (चउपदीभूषण).

बान्द कोटि तारा चन्द्रमा परि । या नाम कोटिवद्वाण्डसुन्दरी । २१ ।

त्रैलोक्यमोहिनी आदि ये गीत । निर्मित बान्द पोथि पाछ सात । २२ ।

... ..

एते प्रकारे करि बान्द गीत । चित्र कविले बळादला चित्र । २३ ।

Citrakāvya MS. Folio 1.

"The poet thus thinks in his mind—many pieces did I publish in poetry. [9]. No end of *Cautisās* and *Caupadīs*, what more can I say on them? [10]. *Gāhā*, *dōhā*, *sōḍacēndu chupō-i*, and other poems that cannot be counted. [11]. Of works on *rasa* and on *Kṛṣṇa* recollecting, I name here some. [12]. Sifting the *Purāṇas*, such works of sweet imagination, as the fine *Citrakāḥā*, the *Hēmamañjarī* [13]; the *Rasalēkhā*, the well-composed *Kāmakaḥā*, the *Manōramā*, and the well-versed *Prēmalatā* [14], the *Bhābabatī*, the well-exemplified *Muktābatī*, the *Barajalīlā*, the *Chāṇḍabhāṣaṇa* [15], the *Śarartu*, the ka-initialled *Kaḥākaḥā*, the sa-initialled *Subhadrāsāra* [16], the ba-initialled *Baidēhāsabīlāsa*, the well-known twelve chandas without any consonant or vowels conjunctions [17], the *Rāmālīlāmṛta* full of many meanings, the *Prēmasudhānidhi* full of alliterations [18], the poem named *Rasika-hārābañjī*, the lives of *Syāma* as *Kuñjabihāra* and others [19], the *Rasapañcaka* illustrating rules of rhetoric, the *Lābanyabatī* the delight of wits [20], the composition of the *Puruṣōttamamāhātmya*, the various dictionaries of words as the *Gitāhīdhāna* [21], the *Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī* like a moon among millions of poetical stars [22], the poems beginning with the *Trailōkyamōhinī*; some such five or seven poems have I composed [23]. Having composed poems of so many kinds, my thoughts strayed towards illustrated poetry [27]."

¹ पाछ बान्दे शेष होइला ए रस करिव रसिक वश ।

हे जने प्रेमसुधानिधि रसिकहारावलीर ए शेष । १८ ।

सुवर्णरेखार वणैना येतेक रसे एक तिनि गीत ।

कहे उपेन्द्र भञ्ज वीरवर अनुभव ए विदित । १९ ।

Sub. Rēk., 5th Chānda.

"This *rasa* comes to its end in five cantos; it will sway the wits. Oh men! Here is finished the *Prēmasudhānidhi*, and the *Rasikahārābañjī*. [18]. All the *rasas* in the descriptions of the *Suvarṇarēkhā* are to be found in the three poems; this is felt and known—so says Upēndra Bhāṇja Birabara [19]."

3. Caupadicandra (चपदीचन्द्र).
4. Chapō-i (चपोइ).
5. Gāhā (गाहा).
6. Dōhā (दोहा).

B. Mythological poems :—

7. Abanā Rasataranga (अवना रसतरङ्ग).
8. Brajalīlā (ब्रजलीला).
9. Subhadrāsāra or Subhadrāpariṇaya (सुभद्रासार वा सुभद्रापरिणय).
10. Kaḷākautuka (कळाकौतुक).
11. Baidēhisabilāsa (वैदेहीशबिलास).
12. Rāmalīlāmṛta (रामलीलामृत).
13. Kuñjabihāra (कुञ्जविहार).
14. Puruṣōttama Māhātmya (पुरुषोत्तम माहात्म्य).
15. Rāhāsaliḷā (राहासलीला).

C. Fictional poems :—

16. Citralēkhā (चित्रलेखा).
17. Hāmamañjari (हममञ्जरी).
18. Rasalēkhā (रसलेखा).
19. Kāmakaḷā (कामकळा).
20. Manōramā (मनोरमा).
21. Prēmālatā (प्रेमलता).
22. Bhābabatī (भाववती).
23. Muktābatī (मुक्तावती).
24. Prēmasudhānidhi (प्रेमसुधाभिधि).
25. Rasikahārābālī (रसिकहारावली).
26. Lābanyabatī (लावण्यवती).
27. Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī (कोटिब्रह्माण्डसुन्दरी).
28. Trailōkyamōhini (त्रैलोक्यमोहिनी).
29. Candrakalā (चन्द्रकळा).
30. Candrarēkhā (चन्द्ररेखा).
31. Icchābatī (इच्छावती).
32. Kalābatī (कलावती).
33. Sasirēkhā (शशीरेखा).
34. Sōbhābatī (शोभावती).
35. Subarnarēkhā (सुवर्णरेखा).

D. Rhetorical, etc. :—

36. Chāṇḍabhūṣaṇa (चान्दभूषण).
37. Rasapañcaka (रसपञ्चक).
38. Citrakābya (चित्रकाव्य).
39. Rasamañjari (रसमञ्जरी).

40. Saṅgītakāumudī (सङ्गीतकौमुदी).

41. Gītābhīdhāna (गीताभिधान).

42. Śaṛaṭu (शरदृत).

It will be seen that 20 out of 42 or nearly half are romances. To Upēndra Bhañja belongs the credit of having been the first to shake off largely the predominating religious tendency. This comparative freedom seems to have arisen partly from his birth in a royal family and partly from his vicissitudes in life, now a prince and now an exile. His stories are no doubt confined to princes or high ministers, and thus belong to the primitive stage of story-telling. Yet they are preferable to the dreary repetitions of mythological absurdities.

As a master of rhetorical excellences he stands higher than all Oriyā poets except Abhimanyu. He knew intimately the Sanskrit rules of elegance, and was a successful follower of the standard set up in the later Sanskrit classics. He was an adept in all kinds of Oriyā verses, writing freely and fully. He was a master-hand in vocabulary and letter-selection. Sometimes he wrote poems without any admixture of vowels other than *a*, e.g., Abanā Rasataranga; sometimes he limited the initial letters of each line to one letter only, such as *ba* in Baidēhisa-bīlāsa, *ka* in Kalākautuka, *sa* in Subhadrāpariṇaya. Sometimes he used *Jamakas* throughout a poem, as Prēmasudhānidhi; while Kōṭi-brahmāṇḍasundarī sparkles with numerous varieties of rhetorical gems. In spite of innumerable lines of unequal merits due to his prolificness and constant attempt to play on words, a large number of passages contain verbal excellences fit to stand the fierce light of modern criticism. By intermixing numberless unfamiliar Sanskrit words and allusions, the text has however been generally made unintelligible to the ordinary readers, and to most of his poems explanatory *ṭīkā*s are absolutely necessary. Hence in spite of his rhetorical skill, his poems rarely move the heart, or add to one's knowledge about nature or the human mind.

On the question of sentiments he does not rise above his age. Wanting in energy and lifelikeness the heroes and heroines move like puppets. The low view of women common to the age and to the models followed still further degenerates in his poems; and obscene descriptions abound. Ethical doctrines are generally at a discount in royal families, and in Upēndra Bhañja's case the grandfather's sensuality appears to have had a still worse effect.

To summarise, Upēndra Bhañja is in Oriyā language, the most voluminous author, the earliest and most prominent fictional poet, the most obscene, the most unintelligible, and on the whole the best writer of rhetorical excellences. His most important works are first Baidēhisa-

biḷāsa on the career of Rāma up to Uttarākāṇḍa; ¹ second Lābanyabati, narrating the story of the princess Lābanyabati and the prince Candrabhānu; third Kōṭibrahmāṇḍasundarī, a romance with the princess of the above name as heroine; and fourth Rasapañcaka, illustrating by Oriyā songs the rhetorical rules about Nāyakas, Nāyikās and their loves, and following mainly the corresponding text of the Bengali *alanikara*, Sāhitya Darpaṇ. A passage from Baidēhisabilāsa is extracted lower down, but no single passage can give any reliable idea of the many-sided talents of this poet.

BISVANĀTHA KHUṆṬI-Ā.

Such a talented poet as Upēndra must influence later poetry. On the religious side his Baidēhisabilāsa found an imitator in the Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Bisvanātha Khuṇṭi-ā. This author appears to have been a resident of Puri. His surname Khuṇṭi-ā is applied to a special class of śēbakas in the Jagannātha temple, and the poem begins with a brief description of Jagannātha's festivals. His date is not precisely known. In his introduction he refers to the king Divyasimha, who reigned from 1692-93 to 1719-20 A.D.² He also refers to Upēndra Bhañja's Caupadibhūṣaṇa,³ which is probably among Bhañja's earliest works. Approximately therefore the date of Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa may be put in the decade 1710-20 A.D.

The poem, as its name implies, is an adaptation of the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa, and differs from Baidēhisabilāsa in adding the Uttarākāṇḍa and in following more closely the story of the Sanskrit original. It is divided into generally very short cantos, and is therefore well adapted for singing. It is largely sung by dancing boys, and in old days was generally sung in the festival of Ṣṛirāma navamī, which occurs in

¹ Upēndra Bhañja did not poetise the Uttarākāṇḍa, because according to rules a poem should end happily and not in grief or death.

विभङ्ग रस वोलिण न वर्णिलि एते ।

बुधे वोलिहन्ति एहा दीप हान्द गीते ॥ ४६ ॥

Baid. Bil., 52nd Ch., p. 535.

"I have not described this (Uttarā-kāṇḍa), because then the enjoyment of the *rasas* will be broken. The learned have said that this is a fault in *chānda* poetry."

² "श्री दीयसिंह गजपति श्रीजगन्नाथ श्रीचरणे भजे" "I pay my obeisance to Śrī-Divyasimha Gajapati and to the auspicious feet of Śrī-Jagannātha." Ch. I, l. 5, Ādikāṇḍa. For Dibya simha's reign, see App. IV, "The later kings of Khōrdā."

³ "राग आहारी । भङ्ग चउपदौ भूषण नञ्चरी हने ।" Bic. Ram. Āraṇyaka, Kāṇḍa, Chānda 2nd's tune.

spring (Caitra). The Bicitra Rāmāyaṇa cannot bear comparison with the poem of Upēndra Bhañja in point of learning and rhetorical skill, but it is simpler, shorter, and more free from obscenity. To illustrate their differences, one passage on the Pampā tank is given below with the parallel passage from Baidēhisabīlāsa.

प्रवेश राम लक्ष्मण यस्यासर तीर । देखन्ति निर्मल जल अति मनोहर । १ ।
 कमल कुसुद कोकनद नौलोत्पल । मधुपाने मत्त होइ चुम्बन्ति भ्रसल । २ ।
 चउपाशे वेडिक्कन्ति पुष्प तरुचय । विरहिजनकु से कराउक्कन्ति भय । ३ ।
 देख देख लक्ष्मण ए सरोवर शोभा । एहा देखि केवण देव नोहिव लोभा । ४ ।
 विविध हंसमानङ्गे दिशइ सुन्दर । डाडक तितिर काक वके शोभाकर । ५ ।
 विकाशन्ति नव नव चूताङ्कुर माने । प्रकटि वासन्ति वास सर्व सन्निधाने । ६ ।
 कामतूणिशर प्राय दिशन्ति अशोक । सीताङ्क विच्छेद कराउक्कि वट्ट शोक । ७ ।
 पाटळी पाटळ कामानल प्राय दिशे । केतकौ कळिका मनसिजकुन्त कि से । ८ ।
 मल्लिका सौरभरे मधुकरनिकर । ध्वनि करि खोजुक्कन्ति सर्व दिगन्तर । ९ ।
 मदगन्ध सुशैतल प्रसरे मरुत । कोकिल ध्वनि करन्ति होइ महामत्त । १० ।

Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa Chāṇḍa, I.

“Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa enter on the bank of the Pampā tank, and see its clear charming water. [1]. Drunk with honey, the black-bees are kissing the nelumbiums, the white lotuses, the large red lotuses, and the blue water-lilies. [2]. Trees and flowers surround it on four sides, and are causing fear in the hearts of the love-sick. [3]. See! See! Lakṣmaṇa, the beauty of this tank. At this sight which god will not be tempted? [4]. Charming it looks with diverse geese, with the water hens and partridges, with the crows and the cranes. [5]. The mango flowers are newly blooming, and are spreading their mild odour unto all. [6]. The *asoka* flowers look like the arrows of cupid's bow, and are grieving me for this separation from Sitā. [7]. The Bignolias shine like love-fire, while the Pandanus buds seem like the darts of love-god. [8]. The fragrance of the Jasmines is causing the bees to hum and to hunt about. [9]. The wind is spreading a cool intoxicating odour, the cuckoos are singing in full passion. [10].”

वाटे यस्या सार सर । विराजित सारसर ।

विराजित सारसर । वृषारि सर से । ४६ ।

विधिरे ह्रीन भ्रमर । विलसुक्कन्ति भ्रमर ।

विलास यहि भ्रमर । वाङ्के अमर से । ५० ।

वारिरे आदरसरे । विमळ आदरशरे ।
 विवेक हंस मानस । वळि मानस ये । ५१ ।
 विध्वंस ताप स्वरश । वड अतळ स्वरश ।
 विनिद्र नीळ सारस । वहइ रस से । ५२ ।
 वाञ्छि टषार्त्ति कमळ । विघन तौरे कमळ ।
 विरचे भङ्गकु सुद । वळ कुसुद ए । ५३ ।
 वुडि उठे चक्र चक्र । विहे गति यथा चक्र ।
 विनोदरे चक्रवाकी । विचक्रा कि से । ५४ ।

Baid. Bīlā., Kīṣk. Kāṇḍa, 26th Ch., pp. 209-10.

“In the way lies Pampā, the tank of Indra, the best of tanks, which is graced by the long-necked cranes, and where bloom the Nelumbiums. [49]. This tank is by nature free from eddies, is enlivened by the black bees, is so delightful that the immortals are deluded to desire it. [50]. Its water is preferably more lucid than even a clean mirror, and (so good that) the geese think it better than that of even the Mānasa tank (beyond the Himālayas). [51]. Its water is so cool as to destroy all touch of heat, is very deep with flowering blue water-lilies, and is in taste as sweet as honey. [52]. The thirsty deers desiring a drink get satisfaction at the bank of this tank. The many white lotuses in it give much delight to the bees. [53]. The red ducks in it dip and rise, and delighted, whirl round in circles with their females, reminding the motion of dust storms. [54].”¹

LŌKANĀTHA DĀSA.

On the fictional side, too, Upēndra Bhañja's romances stimulated others, among whom Lōkanātha Dāsa appears to have been one of the earliest. His works have not yet been printed. I have seen in manuscript his Sarbāṅgasundarī and Hunter's list credits him with three more, Citrōt-paḷā, Parimāḷā and Rasakaḷā. The manuscript of Sarbāṅgasundarī takes up 63 folios with 4 lines on each page. It contains 15 Chāndas; apparently the last few Chāndas are missing. The story part resembles the general type of Upēndra Bhañja's romances, and the descriptions are also on the same line, though of course with much less poetical skill. The date is uncertain, probably the 2nd quarter of the 18th century.

¹ This short canto exemplifies the rhetorical excellence known as “the final alliteration” (*anta Jamakas*). The force and the jingle music of the *Jamakas*, it is impossible to show in the translation.

SADĀNANDA KAVISŪRYABRAHMĀ.

The last two poets are closely connected with each other, Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā being the guru of Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra. Sadānanda founded a little math at Dikṣitaparā, Parganā Asurēsvara, Thānā Sālēpura, District Cuttack. From its present Adhikāri most of the following informations have been gathered.¹ Sadānanda was born at Bhikāripura, Killā Nayāgara, in the family of an Ōtā Brāhmin. In spite of the attempts of his parents he was a great dunce in his boyhood. When he grew older he felt repentance at his ignorance and prayed to the Īva Nakulēçvara of Nayāgara. Through his favour he became suddenly inspired with poetical powers. Then he visited Puri, became a disciple of Gaṅgāmātā math, and secured from the Rājā of Puri the title Kavisūryabrahmā. His original name was probably Sādhucarāṇa Dāsa, which was changed to Sadānanda Dāsa after initiation.² He next went out on pilgrimage visiting Nabadvīp, Br̥ṇḍābana, and other sacred places, and brought therefrom a considerable number of Vaiṣṇavite works. On his return he settled at Bāli-ā (more correctly Gōlkuṇḍa) in Parganā Baru-ā. There he became the guru of the young zemindar Abhimanyu and taught him to be a poet. This is acknowledged by Abhimanyu himself in his Prēmakaṣā.³ Later on however they quarrelled, and

¹ The present Adhikāri Paramānanda Dāsa traces his descent thus:—

Sadānanda
|
Cēlā
Dhrubānanda Dāsa
|
Cēlā
Gōbindacandra Dāsa
|
Cēlā
The present Adhikāri
Paramānanda

² This is indicated in the following line—

औगुह श्री किशोरदास पङ्कज पयार आश्रय करि ।

शाक्तकुलजन्म सुं साधुचरण दास रथि अधिकारी हे । १२ ।

Nāmacintāmaṇi 12th Chānda, p. 23.

“Taking refuge at the lotus feet of the *guru*, Īri-Kisōra Dāsa, and who was born of a line (hereditarily) sāktas, have I been *adhikāri* here (*i. e.*, in Vaiṣṇavism).”

³ गुरु कृष्ण वद्वेषवपदसेवाफले ।

कविलक्षणा जनमिसा हृदस्थले हे । १९ ।

Abhimanyu is said to have attempted the substitution of his idol for that of his guru. Disgusted (partly from jealousy too), Sadānanda removed his things to Dikṣitaparā, and founded the present math. This village is situated on the north of Kēndrāparā canal. The present Adhikāri puts his date roughly at 150 years old. The date seems approximately correct. At the time Prēmakaḷā was written (about 1777 A.D.), Sadānanda was the teacher of Abhimanyu and was probably 30 to 40 years old, nearer 40 than otherwise. Hence Sadānanda was some twenty years older than his pupil, and may be said to have flourished in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

No large work is attributed to Sadānanda. He composed numerous songs and several small pieces, all dealing with Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The tradition is that the songs passing under the name of Aṣṭadurgā-nātha were really Sadānanda's; he passed them off as Āṭhgarā king's, probably for good consideration. The present Adhikāri has supplied me with the following list of his works :—

1. Laharī (लहरी).
2. Bhāuri (भँउरी).
3. Cāuri (चँउरि).
4. Tattvataranginī, Parts I-III (तत्त्वतरङ्गिणी).
5. Prēmataranginī (प्रेमतारङ्गिणी).
6. Nāmacintāmaṇi (नामचिन्तामणि).
7. Niṣṭhānīlamāṇi (निष्ठानीलमणि).
8. Prēmakaḷpalatā (प्रेमकल्पलता).
9. Samudra (समुद्र).
10. Mōhanalatā (मोहनलता).
11. Bisvambharabihāra (विश्वम्भरविहार).
12. Pātaradābaḷi (?) (पातरदावल्ली).
13. Caitanyabhāgabata (चैतन्यभागवत).
14. Curi (?) Cintāmaṇi (चुरिचिन्तामणि).

I have seen only one work of his, Nāmacintāmaṇi (No. 6) and several songs. Caitanyabhāgabata (No. 13) if a poem, is probably an

• श्रीमत श्रीसदानन्द कविस्वर्यव्रद्धा ।

कृपा फळे प्रापत कविलमार्गसौमा ष्टे । ३० ।

MS. Prēma Kaḷā, 1st Ch. Folios 1-2,

"By attendance on the feet of the Guru, Kṛṣṇa and Vaiṣṇavas, the imaginative power of poetry took its birth in my heart. Through the favour of Ṛimata Sadānanda Kavisūryabrahmā I have attained the extreme of poetical path."

The Prēmakaḷā was begun in the author's 20th year, as noted by him later on 1st Ch. l. 111, Folio 4.

adaptation of the same work in Bengali by Bṛndābana Dās. The *Nāmacintamaṇi* is in 12 Chāndas and in print occupies 23 pages only. Besides praises to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, one Chānda (the 3rd) is entirely devoted to Caitanya and his principal disciples. Apparently Sadānanda was a Gauṛiyā Vaiṣṇava. Most extravagant are the praises of Rādhā, who should be named first and then Kṛṣṇa.¹ His songs are among the most popular and are exclusively devotional. But on the whole I think that he is more famous than his works justify. Probably this fame arose from his superior personality and from his extensive knowledge gathered in travel.

ABHIMANYU SĀMANTASIMHĀRA.

The pre-British poets conclude with Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra. He belonged to a zemindar family, whose descendants still survive. From one of them Babu Raghunātha Sāmantasimhāra a good deal of the undermentioned information has been obtained.²

The family was founded by one Kālu Simha. He and his brother Mahābala Simha came from Jaypur (Rajputana) to Purī apparently on pilgrimage. They took service under the Rājā of Purī and came to be employed as guards of the king's bed-room (*palazkapaharā*). While in this trusted post they secured for themselves the grant of the zemindari of Parganā Baruā. On coming to take possession, they found one Ucita Bēhērā already in possession by virtue of an older sanad. Fighting ensued, and at last a compromise was arrived at by a division of the Parganā. The two brothers got seventy-one villages, which are now comprised in the Tāluka Sāntrāpura, Kēsapura, and Rādhāmōhanaprasāda. The two brothers lived together. When Mahābala died, his

¹ ऋषिवचन राधा ये पदों बोले कृष्ण नाम आगे बोले ।

वेहि क्षण ब्रह्महत्या दोष पार जगि अपि न सुखि । ४ ।

Nāma Cintāmaṇi, 5th Ch. p. 8.

"This is the saying of Ṛṣis—he who names Rādhā having named Kṛṣṇa first, gets then and there the sin of a Brāhmin-murder. Not forgetting this, watchfully repeat (her name)."

² My informant, a fine old man of sixty, died the year before last (1896). He traced his descent from Abhimanyu in this manner:—

Abhimanyu
|
Rāmakṛṣṇa
(son)
|
Raghunātha
(son)
(my informant).

son Jodhi Simha separated taking as his share the Tāluk Sāntrapura. The descent from Kālu Simha is thus given :—

1. Kālu Simha.
|
2. Sāratha Sāmantasimhāra
(son)
|
3. Alañi Sāmantasimhāra
(son)
|
4. Bandēji S.
(son)
|
5. Paramānanda S.
(son)
|
6. Khusālī S.
(son)
|
7. Indrajita S.
(son)
|
8. Abhimanyu S.
(eldest son)
The author.

Of his father and his zemindari, Abhimanyu has given a short description in his *Prēmakaṭā*.¹ They lived at Gōlakunḍa which is now

१ जम्बुद्वीप भरतखण्ड ए सार मही ।
महीदधि याजनग्र मध्य रम्य तर्हि ये ॥ १०४ ॥
सुविहारस्थान एणु थिवार से देश ।
गोलकुण्ड नामे ग्राम तर्हिरे प्रकाश ये ॥ १०५ ॥
ब्राह्मीनदी से ग्राम सीमा भेदि वहि ।
विराट गोधन रहिवार स्थान सेदि ये ॥ १०६ ॥
ए राज्यरे राजा मित्रवंशी चेचीवर ।
इन्द्रजित सामन्तसिंहार नाम वर हे ॥ १०७ ॥
ताङ्क ज्येष्ठ सूरत अभिमन्यु नाम मोर ।
आङ्गार रीतिरे त सामन्तसिंहार ॥ १०८ ॥

MS. *Prēmakaṭā*, 1st Chānda. Folios 3-4.

"In Jambu Dvīpa Bharata Khaṇḍa, this country (Utkala) is the essence. Charming is the town Jājanagara on the seacoast of that country. In this land so well fitted for enjoyment, exists a village by name Gōlakunḍa. By the boundary of this village flows the river Brāhmī; and its meadows are well suited for immense

situated on the left bank of the Brāhmini river, 20° 42' lat., and 86° 18' long. The Jājanagara referred to was the old name of modern Jānapura. The family quarters have now been removed to Bāli-ā, a few miles east. The family have lost the zemindari and now live upon 25 *bāṭis* (500 acres) lākhirāj land, with which Abhimanyu is said to have endowed the family idol Rādhāmōhana.

According to local traditions Abhimanyu was precocious in his development, and lisped in number from his very boyhood. In his ninth year he is credited with the composition of doggrels known as Hūgita, and in his tenth year with other songs, as Jēmā Gita, Bāgha Gita, Gōbrā-carṣi Gita. He then came under the influence of Sadānanda Kavi-sūryabrahmā and in his twentieth year began his first large poem Prēmakaṭā.¹ I have got a manuscript of this work. He then composed various poems as Sulakṣaṇā, Rasabati, Prēmācintāmaṇi and Prēmatarāṅgiṇi. I have got a manuscript copy of the last. His last work was Bidagdha-cintāmaṇi. He intended to finish it in 108 Chāndas with a description of the Rāsaliḷā, but when he had gone up to 96th Chānda, he felt a disgust for this life, turned an ascetic Vaiṣṇava, and abandoning family and home proceeded to Br̥ndāvana. There he died in his 49th year. The Bidagdha-cintāmaṇi has been printed, and in its Preface, his death is said to have taken place on Jyēṣṭha kṛṣṇa saptami of sana 1213 (= 8th June, 1806 A.D., Tuesday). Abhimanyu was well read in Sanskrit classics and rhetorics, and knew Hindi and Mārāṭhi, the speeches of the then governing races. From his boyhood, he loved to associate with Paṇḍits and Sādhus and the accidental residence of Sadānanda helped him materially in developing his poetical powers. He is said to have built a temple to Rādhāmōhana Thākura.

The manuscript Prēmakaṭā is a moderate-sized volume occupying 186 folios with four lines on each page. It is a romance in 64 Chāndas modelled after Upēndra Bhaṇja's stories. Though begun in the author's twentieth year, it displays considerable knowledge of Sanskrit rhetorics and indicated the future power of the poet. The manuscript Prēmatarāṅgiṇi is a small piece based on the Rāsapañcādyāyī, whose śloka are quoted and versified. Of the other poems two are love stories,

herds of cattle. The ruler of this land is a Mitravaṃṣi Kṣatriya, by name Indrajita Sāmantasimbhāra. His eldest son am I, by name Abhimanyu, by surname Sāmantasimbhāra."

¹ विश्व वरष वयसे यद्वा आरम्भिलि ।

सुजनपदाश्रितरे शङ्काहीन कलि ये ॥ १११ ॥

Prēmakaṭā MS., 1st Ch., Folio 4.

"I began this at the age of twenty, and by attending on the feet of good men dropped my timidity."

Rasabati and Sulakṣaṇā, the initial letters of each line of the latter being *sa*; while *Prēmacintāmaṇi* is said to be religious.

The last and the best of his poems is *Bidagdha-cintāmaṇi*, based on the Sanskrit *Bidagdhamaḍhava* of Rūpa Gōsvāmi the well-known disciple of Caitanya. It deals with the life and love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; while the last four *Chāndas* poetise the Caitanyite doctrines of *Prēma* and *Bhakti* (love and devotion). The poem is a store-house of rhetorical excellences, almost each *Chānda* exemplifying a different kind of verbal formations. It thus resembles *Kōṭibrahmaṇḍasundarī* of Upēndra Bhaṇja; but it is simpler, less loaded with Sanskrit learning and imageries, and therefore more effective. The author's religious feelings have made the poem less obscene and have induced him to put in graceful verses the rather abstruse doctrines of *Prēma* and *Bhakti*—a field which Upēndra Bhaṇja did not try. In learning and comprehensiveness he is undoubtedly, inferior to Upēndra; but it may be said for *Bidagdhacintāmaṇi* that no single Oriyā poem contains so many examples of rhetorical skill or abstract poetry as this work does.

MĀDALĀ PĀÑJĪ.

Having finished the pre-British period of Oriyā poetry, a few words may be added in the conclusion about Oriyā prose. Literary compositions in Oriyā prose are unknown. The *Mādalā Pāñji* and a few *Bamśābaḷis* are the only specimens of prose. These have no literary merits.¹ The *Mādalā Pāñji* is a sort of chronicle of the Jagannātha temple. Its contents are roughly divisible into three kinds:

(1) A short history of the kings of Orissa (*Rājāmāṇḱara Rājyabhōga*).

(2) A history of the erection of Jagannātha's temple, its modes of worship, and the duties of its *sēbakas*.

(3) An account of extraordinary events happening in the temple with the details of their costs, if any.

The historical value of *Mādalā Pāñji* has been very much overrated. The original informations were often not correctly entered. Then again the chronicle being on palm-leaves, it had to be recopied three or four times in a century, and in re-copying many mistakes crept in, particularly in figures. Lastly the *Sēbā* (worship) was closed several times on account of the Mahomedan raids, and many volumes must have been lost at the time. Hence the text is found full of mistakes and cannot be relied upon, unless corroborated by other evidence. The later writers have also fallen into mistakes by following exclusively only

¹ The remarks by Mr. Beames on the literary value of the *Mādalā Pāñji* (Vol. II, p. 348) were passed admittedly without any knowledge of their contents.

one version of the royal genealogy, while there are five or six versions in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. The truth often lies in one or other version. Appendix IV. will give some idea of the difficulties in constructing a royal genealogy from these different versions.

At present the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* is kept in two sets, one by the *Sēbaka* entitled *Dēṇḷakarāṇa*, the other by the *Sēbaka* named *Tarḥa-u*. The *Dēṇḷakarāṇa* (*lit.* the writer of the temple) as his name implies, seems to have been the original keeper of the records, but a second was added apparently for check and for better preservation of the informations. It is not known when these records began to be kept. But from the fact that a large number of details dates from the time of *Anaṅga Bhīma Dēva*, the system would appear to have been established by him. As a rule the later the accounts, the more reliable they are.

N.B.—Since writing this article, a kind letter of Dr. Fleet has drawn my attention to his remarks on the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* in the *Epigraphia Indica*.¹ Dr. Fleet has analysed the earlier list of kings carefully and comes to the conclusion that the annal is “absolutely worthless for any purposes of ancient history.” (p. 335). I came nearly to the same conclusion when I was studying the original manuscript of the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. In an article read before this Society, an abstract of which was published in the *Proceedings* for July 1892, I noticed the general unreliability of the historical portion of the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, and remarked that at best it can be used only as a corroborative document. Dr. Fleet’s analysis confirms me in that view.

On some of the points discussed in the very interesting article of Dr. Fleet, I venture to differ. Firstly, he thinks that in respect of most of the *Kēṇari* kings it can only be said that “not one of them has any ring of antiquity in the sound of it; they may possibly be real names of later rulers, misplaced in order to make out a consecutive chronological series.” (p. 336). I know at least of one Orissan inscription not later than tenth century, which mentions *Kēṇari* kings. It is the *Brahmēṇvara* inscription of *Bhuvanēṇvara*.² This inscription mentions *Udyōtaka Kēṇari*, and of his ancestors *Janamējaya*, *Vicitravira*, *Caṇḍihara* and *Kōḷavati*. The names of both *Janamējaya* and *Kōḷavati* are to be found in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. The *Kēṇari* kings need not therefore be considered as myths or later rulers, as suggested.

Secondly, Dr. Fleet has “no substantial doubt that the *Yavana* invasions which were repulsed, as the annals say, by *Vajradēva* and his

¹ “The Records of the *Sōmavaṃṣi* kings of Katak.” *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., pp. 334-340.

² Prinsep, *Journ. As. Soc.* Vol. VII., p. 558 *et. seq.*; I. c. Dr. R. L. Mitrā’s *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 88-9.

successors, and the successful invasion by the Yavanas, in the time of Çobhanadēva, are (mixed up with the early Gupta rule) simply the raids into Orissa by the Mussulmans in the thirteenth and following centuries, and the ultimate conquest of the country by them in the sixteenth century A.D." (p. 339). After having so satisfactorily established the utter worthlessness of the earlier part of the annals, it is a pity that Dr. Fleet should make such an elaborate inference on one of the least authentic events of that earlier part. I am inclined to disbelieve the whole story of Raktavāhu the Yavana, as a legend without any historical value. If any identification be at all required, I would rather identify him with some Buddhist or Jaina chief of the South.

Lastly, Dr. Fleet thinks that Çivagupta and his descendants were kings of a dominion which included "probably the whole of Orissa," and who had their capitals at Kaṭaka (p. 327). This conclusion does not appear to be borne out by the facts. The epithet "Trikaṇḍādhīpati" is merely an honorific title, just as the old kings of Orissa used to style themselves "kings of Gauṛa and Kaṇḍāṭa" without having the smallest bit of land in those countries. The word Kaṭaka should be taken as a common noun denoting "camp;" the old name of modern town Kaṭaka being "Bārāṇasi Kaṭaka."¹ Of the six copper-plates, five have, no doubt, been found near modern Kaṭaka; but this is probably due to the fact that the donees lived there or subsequently came to live there. Many Oṛiyā Brāhmins living near Kaṭaka and Purī still hold lands in the eastern part of Central Provinces, or in the northern part of Madras Presidency. The sixth copper-plate was found in Pāṭṇā in the Central Provinces, and does not support the theory of Orissa kingship. The river Mahānadī has been mentioned in copper-plates E. and F., but that river flows as much through the Central Provinces as through Orissa. The villages in which the lands were granted cannot be traced in Orissa; while many of them have been specifically mentioned in the grants to have been in Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala. The kings also are specifically mentioned in the inscriptions as "Kōsalendra." The inscriptions are not earlier than the 11th and belong more probably to the 12th Century A.D.; and at that time the Gangavāmṣa kings were ruling in Orissa, as a series of inscriptions have proved beyond doubt. All these facts and a careful reading of the grants lead me to the conclusion that Çivagupta and his descendants were really kings of Kōsala or Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala (identifiable with the N. E. part of Central Provinces),

¹ J. A. S. B. Vol. LXII., 1893, pp. 100-1; the other inscriptions in this article show how the word "kaṭaka" was used in old days; Vol. LXIV, 1895, p. 134.

and that the lands in the plates B to F. were granted to Brāhmins who either resided at the time in Orissa or subsequently came to reside there.

APPENDIX III. BHŪPATI PAṆḌITA'S ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF.

ए पथे परम आनन्दे । कृष्णचरण अरविन्दे ॥
 एमन होइला मधुप । वैष्णव दास कवि भूप ॥
 पश्चिमा विप्र सारस्वत । नाम ये भूपति पण्डित ॥
 श्रीगजपति गौड़ेश्वर । उत्कल देशर ठाकुर ॥
 ये नव कोटि कर्णाटक । क्लवर देशर नायक ॥
 ए आदि लोक चतुर्दश । पुरित याहार सुयश ॥
 जगन्नाथङ्क कञ्ज शिरे । एणु ए वड़ जगतरे ॥
 पूर्वे ए ओड़िशा राज्यर । श्री इन्द्रद्युम्न नृपवर ॥ २०० ॥
 ताहाङ्क आछा परमाणे । ब्रह्मा अइले ए सुवने ॥
 ब्रह्मा मानिले आछा यार । इतर जन केउँ छार ॥
 एहाङ्क शिरे साढ़ि देइ । एटि प्रत्यक्षे विष्णुदेहि ॥
 ए वीरवर वइष्णव । नाम श्री दिव्यसिंह देव ॥
 लक्ष्मे राजाङ्क चूड़ामणि । सुन्दरपणे अग्रे गणि ॥
 कन्दर्प सम नोहे रूपे । पृथिवी पूरित प्रतापे ॥
 पण्डित धामक विवेक । सङ्गीत विद्या सुरसिक ॥
 मदन शास्त्र अनुभवि । श्रीकृष्णारस वाक्य कवि ॥
 प्रजापालन विप्रभक्त । दयालु दाता परहित ॥
 एते लक्षणे से राजन । ताहाङ्क करि दरशन ॥ २१० ॥
 कौर्त्ति कवित्व वर्णिवार । शुणि सन्तोष नृपवर ॥
 धनवसन भूमि दान । देले से होइ सुप्रसन्न ॥
 देखि अलुग्रह विशेष । क्राडि अइलि निज देश ॥
 ताहाङ्क अज्जल खाइ । सुखे ताहाङ्क राज्ये थाइ ॥
 कठक नाम रथिपुर । नगर पश्चिमे मो घर ॥
 पश्चिम भाषारे कवित्व । वङ्गळा भाषा बिरहित ॥
 उत्कल भाषा नवप्रिया । मोहर वइष्णव दीक्षा ॥
 श्री व्रज राजेन्दु कुमर । किशोर कृष्ण वेणुधर ॥

ताहाङ्गु शाखा भावे भजि । निर्मल प्रेमे मन रञ्जि ।
 श्री कृष्णचरणे विश्वास । नाम श्री चइतन्यदास ॥ २२० ॥
 महत शुद्ध वङ्गव । गोपीका भक्ति ताङ्ग भाव ॥
 श्रीगुरुषोत्तमरे घर । शुद्ध पश्चिम पारश्वर ॥
 पूर्वे से कपालमोचन । पश्चिमे लेकेश्वर स्थान ॥
 ए दुइ शिवङ्ग मध्यर । मठ चइतन्य दासङ्गर ।
 ताहाङ्ग सङ्गे मो पीरति । ताहाङ्ग इष्ट गोपीपति ।
 आञ्जा होइला ताहाङ्गर । उत्कल भाषा वाक्य कर ॥
 चौतिषा चउपदौ गौत । बर्ण हो गोविन्द चरित ।
 ताहाङ्ग आञ्जा घेनि शिरे । मन श्रीकृष्ण चरणरे ।
 सुधासमुद्र पूरि थाइ । थेष्ट पूराइ खग नेइ ।
 तदव गोविन्द चरित । चौतिषा चउपदौ गौत ।
 करइ बुद्धि अनुसारे । शुणाइ ताहाङ्ग क्हासुरे । २३० ।
 से पुणि ऊअन्ति प्रसन्न । आनन्दे दयन्ति आलिङ्गन ।
 ए रूपे कृपा ताहाङ्गर । एटि दुर्लभ लाभ मोर ।
श्रीदिव्यसिंह राजाङ्गर । समस्त अठर अङ्गर ।
मकर मास शुक्लपक्ष । तिथि त्रयोदशी प्रत्यक्ष ।
गोधूळि सोमवार दिन । ए ग्रन्थ होइला सम्पूर्ण ।
 ए दश अध्या पदयुक्त । दुइ सहस्र नव शत ।
 अधिक सप्त तिरिष । ए प्रेम पञ्चामृत रस ।
 येवे तो ब्रह्मज्ञाने मन । ए ग्रन्थ करहे पठन ।

Prēmapañcāmṛta, 10th Adhyāya, pp. 122-23.

APPENDIX IV.

The Later Kings of Khōrdā.

Considerable confusion exists regarding the times of these kings, and the confusion has arisen partly from the peculiar nature of the Oriyā aṅka and partly from relying on one version alone of the Mādālā Pāñji. The Oriyā aṅka omits several years and begins in bhādra; but hitherto it has been taken as an ordinary year. The Mādālā Pāñji, furthermore, gives several versions of the royal genealogies. Of these one has been followed by Mr. Stirling, which will be called A;

another (to be called B) is followed in Bābu Bhabānī Charaṇ Bandyō-pādhyāya's *Puruṣōttamacandrikā* and adopted in Hunter's *Orissa* (Vol. II, App. VII, pp. 183-191); while a third which I shall call C is still unpublished. The C version is incomplete taking the genealogy up to Gōpinātha Dēva only, but otherwise appears to have been generally more reliable.

I. DIVYASIMHA DĒVA.

(1692/93-1719/20 A.D.).

His time is important for Oriyā literature, as three poets,—Upendra Bhañja, Bhūpati Paṇḍita and Bisvanātha Khunṭiā mention him. The king's initial year appears to be 1692-93 A.D., and for several reasons. Firstly, A puts it at 1692 A.D. Secondly, Bhūpati Paṇḍita's poem was finished in his 18th Aṅka, makara ṇukla trayōdaṇi, Monday. On calculating according to Prof. Jacobi's Tables, makara ṇukla trayōdaṇi fell on Monday in the year 1707 (3rd February). This being the king's 18th aṅka or 15th year, the first year falls in 1692-93. Thirdly, reasonings from Mahomedan chronicles support this date. During this reign Aurangzēb sent orders to break the temple and the image of Jagannātha:—

"He (Mir Sayyid Maḥmūd of Bilgrām) was a man held in great respect and had served under Nawāb Ikrām in Orissa. When Aurangzēb had sent orders to the Nawāb to destroy the temple of Jagannāth, Raja Durup Sing Deo who had the temple under him asked the Mir to introduce him to the Nawāb. The Raja promised to break up the temple and to send the big idol to the Emperor. He actually did break the statue of Rakas which stood over the entrance of the temple, and also two battlements over the door. The idol which was made of sandalwood and which had two valuable jewels set in the eyes, was carried off and sent to Aurangzēb at Bijapur where it was thrown by order on the steps of the mosque."¹

¹ *Tabṣirat-ul-Nāzīrīn*, l. c. Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Ant. Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 112. The breaking of the temple is corroborated by *Mādaḷā Pāñji* (C version):—

"(अ० ३०) रिसम दि १५ ने एदिन देवविभा एइ दिन पानीसा अउरङ्ग साहाङ्ग नवाव एकराम खाँ एहाङ्गवाह अइला एहा भाइ सरमण्ड खाँ यमाउला एसङ्गते इमाम कोलि असुअर गो ५० टा घेनि । राया दिव्यसिंह देव बारलागि होइथिले देउल सिंहद्वार गुमुट भाङ्गिले भोगमण्डप चक्र नेले काउर यगनाथ प्रतिमाकु सुगल नेले देउल सिंहासन उपरङ्ग नवाव भाइ गला देउल सिंहद्वार दखीण द्वार मुदागला"

The event thus described took place on 19th ṛsava, 7th Aṅka of the king Divyasimha Dēva, being 17th May in 1697 A.D.

Aurangzēb was at Bijapur in 1697 A.D., conducting the war against the Marhattas.¹ As quoted in the note 1 of page 381, the image was taken away in the 7th añka of the King Divyasimha Dēva. Hence his 7th Añka or 5th year fell in 1696/97 A.D., and his 1st year in 1692/93 A.D. According to C, Divyasimha was crowned on Bichā 23rd, equal to 22nd November 1692, (*vide* Prof. Jacobi's Tables).

According to C, Divyasimha Dēva ruled for 34 Añkas or 27y. 5m. 11d. That he reigned for more than 33 Añkas is corroborated by an Oṛiyā inscription found by me on the wheel at the top of Jagannātha temple. The Inscription contains the following entry among others:—

“श्रीद्रिवसिंह देव माहाराजाङ्क अश्दङ्क मकर दि २८ न श्रीनीलचक्र नीश्वर होइ विजे होइले” The blue wheel was made and put (on the top), on makara 28th, 33rd Añka of Śrī-Dribasimha Dēva Māhārājā.

The 33rd Añka or 27th year takes us to 1718/19 A.D., and its makar 28th was 26th January in 1719 A.D., (*vide* Jacobi's Tables). Dibyasimha Dēva was therefore reigning in 1719 A.D. According to C, he died next year on mēṣa 31st (34th Añka), or 28th April 1720 A.D. (*vide* Jacobi).

II. HARĒKṚṢṆA DĒVA.

(1719/20–1724/25 A.D.)

Divyasimha was succeeded by his brother Harēkṛṣṇa, whose reign is put by A. and B. at 5 years and by C. at 7 Añkas or 4y. 10m. 20d, (3 put in C by mistake for 4). All the versions therefore agree. He died on mina 19th, 7th Añka (*vide* C.) which according to Jacobi's Tables would be 18th March in 1725 A.D. The father of Gadādhara Rāyaguru (the author of Sanskrit Ācārasāra) was *guru* of this king.

III. GŌPINĀTHA DĒVA.

(1724/25–1731/32 A.D.)

Harēkṛṣṇa was succeeded by his son Gōpinātha, with whose accession C. ends. Both A. and B. agree in putting his reign at 7 years. That he reigned for more than six years is corroborated by an account in the Maḍalā Pāñji. During this reign the accidental sitting of an owl on the Jagannātha's image necessitated an extraordinary purification with three baths. (The event took place on Makar kṛṣṇa trayōdaśī, Monday, 8th Añka of Gōpinātha Dēva. Makara kṛṣṇa 13 fell on Monday in the year 1731 A.D. (25th January). Gōpinātha Dēva was therefore reigning in 1731 A.D.

¹ Elphinstone's Hist. Ind., p. 662 (Ed. 1889).

IV. RĀMACANDRA DĒVA II.

(1731/32—1742/43 A.D.)

This king was son of Gōpinātha. According to A., he reigned 16 years; according to B. 11 years. B's statement appears more reliable, because the reigns of this king and of his two successors amount to 66 years, and the next following king (Makunda Dēva) began to rule in 1797/98 A.D., as I shall show hereafter. Hence Rāmacandra's 1st year falls in 1731/32 (or 1797/98—66) exactly as calculated from his father's reign. But A's total 71 would put his 1st year further back to 1726/27 A.D., which does not agree with the calculations from the reigns of the preceding kings. Rāmacandra Dēva was unfortunate. He was defeated and taken as prisoner to Katakā under orders of Shujā-ud-din, the Bengal Governor. At Katakā he married a Mahomedan lady and died.

V. VIRAKIṢŌRA DĒVA.

(1742/43—1779/80 A.D.)

Virakiṣōra succeeded his grandfather as a child. According to A,¹ the Marhattas conquered Orissa and drove out the Mughals in his 5th Aṅka or 4th year. This dispossession of the Mughals took place towards the end of the rains in 1745 A.D.² The 4th year being 1745/46 A.D., the first year naturally falls in 1742/43 A.D. According to A. he ruled 43 years; and according to B. 37 years. For reasons stated under Rāmacandra Dēva and under the next kings I have accepted B's figures as more reliable. Virakiṣōra was reigning in 43rd Aṅka or 35th year as an Oṛiyā sale-deed testifies.³ The king's rule was nominal being disturbed by Mughals and Marhattas.

VI. DIVYASIMHA DĒVA II.

(1779/80—1797/98 A.D.)

This king was grandson of Virakiṣōra. His reign is put by Mr. Stirling at 12, and by B. at 18 years. The former is wrong because A. which Stirling followed, really shows 18 and not 12; and because Stirling himself has translated an Oṛiyā sale-deed dated 17th Aṅka or

1 "र राजाङ्क अष्टादशे सरदारं आसि मुगलकु उठाइ देले ।

कटक असल कले । मुगलवन्दि दखल कले ।"

² Stewart's Hist. Beng. (1847), p. 293. "Ragojee accordingly encamped in Beerbhoom and reduced the province of Cuttack and most of Burdwan, by his detachments."

³ Toynbee's Orissa, App. p. XXXIII.

14th year of this king.¹ He used to pay tribute to the Marhattas, and had little of royal power even in his own territory that corresponded with the present Khōrdā subdivision plus Parganā Lēmbāi.

VII. MAKUNDA DĒVA II.

(1797/98—1817 A.D.)

Stirling places the accession of this king in 1798 A.D., and as he was a contemporary of the king his opinion carries weight. This is borne out also by two facts. According to A. the British conquered Orissa in this king's 9th Aṅka, and captured and imprisoned the Rājā in his 10th Aṅka or 8th year. The British forces captured the Fort Bārabāṭi in Kāṭaka on 14th October 1803, while the Rājā himself was captured the next year in November 1804.² Hence the 1st year of the king falls in 1797-98 A.D. The Rājā was released subsequently. But in 1817 on account of the rebellion of Khōrdā pāiks he was recaptured and put into the prison at Kāṭaka. There he died on 30th November 1817 A.D.³ in his 24th Aṅka or 19th year.

APPENDIX V.

Gumusara royal Genealogy.

एहाङ्ग (वनमालि भञ्जकु) मारि एहाङ्ग भाइ गोपिनाथ भञ्ज रायुत कले १५५८ सकाब्द शरिक् व २२ र्ष । १५४१ शकाब्दरे गोपिनाथपुर शासन कले । एहाङ्ग पुच वड धनञ्जय भञ्ज १ गोविन्द भञ्ज पाटरजा २ वलभद्र कोटरा ३ निधि भञ्ज सान्तसिंहारे ४ । ए चारि पुच ताङ्गर होइथिले । ताङ्ग भितर वड पुच धनञ्जय भञ्ज राजत्व कले । ए राजत्व कले ओ राजत्व करिवारे घाठी ए ह्यार टङ्गा लगाइ जगती गोटीए तीयार करिथिले । खटदोली वाङ्गिया रतन जडित करि तीयार करिथिले । एहाङ्गर विशेष महादेइ नाचुणि करिथिले । ए वड भोगि । ए माइपि कुचमईन ऊअन्ति । ए राज दुइ घडि थाए सरुचकुलि दुध योगणा करन्ति । ए रजा धनञ्जयपुर शासन १५७८ शकाब्दरे कले । एहिपरि यशमानङ्ग करि राजत्व करिवारे ए राजत्व कले १६२३ शकाब्द शरिक् व ६५ र्ष । एयकु १६१६ शकाब्द शरिक् पेशकेशि काहाकु देवार न थिला । १६१७ शकाब्द शरिक् मुगलाइ नवाव आसिवारे एक वर्षकु ट ५००० झा पाच्च ह्यार टङ्गा लेखाए पेशकेशि मूल कले । से दिन ठार पेशकेशि देवार

¹ Toynbee's Orissa, App. p. XXXIII.

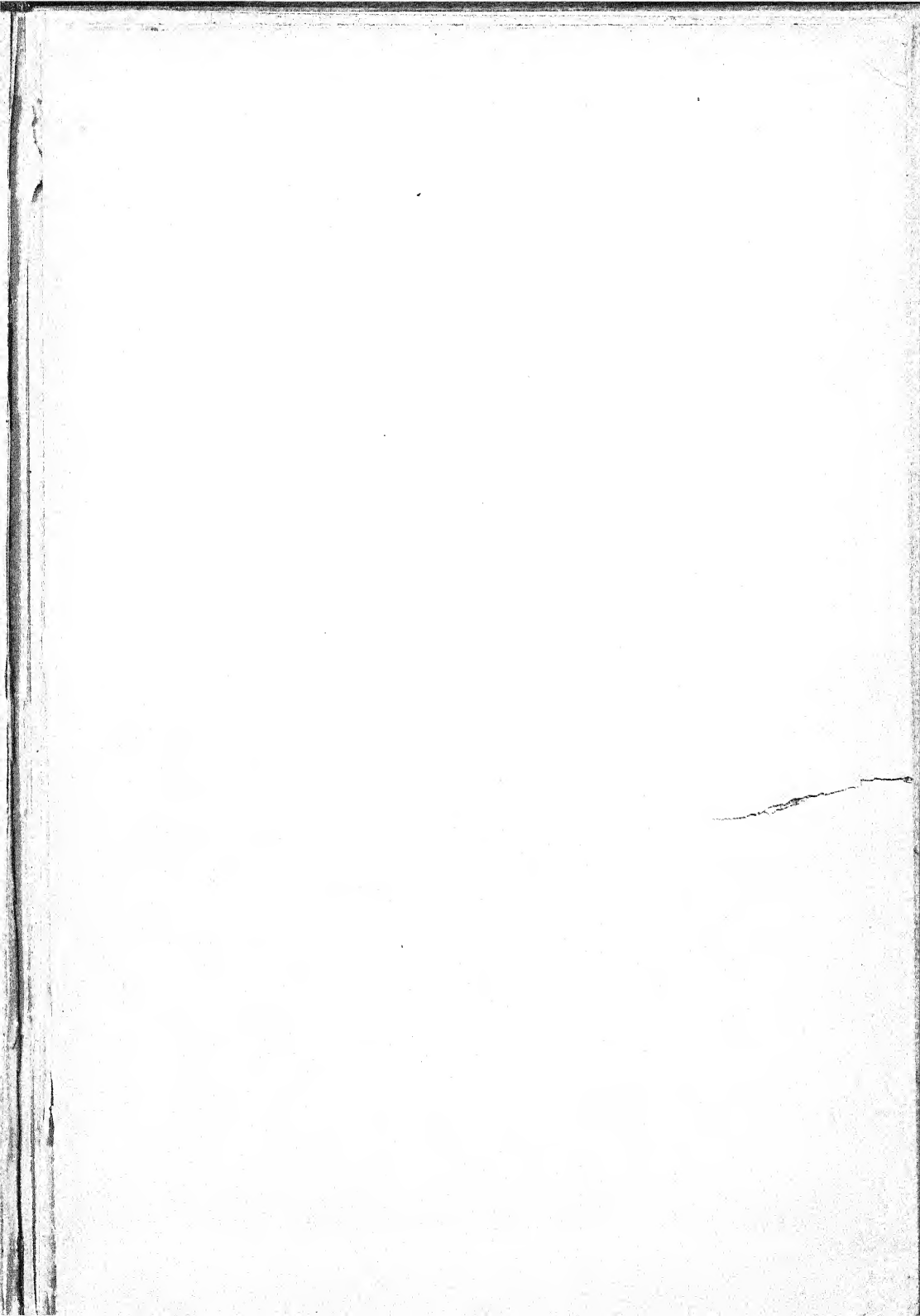
² Toynbee's Orissa, pp. 4-5; Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II, p. 58.

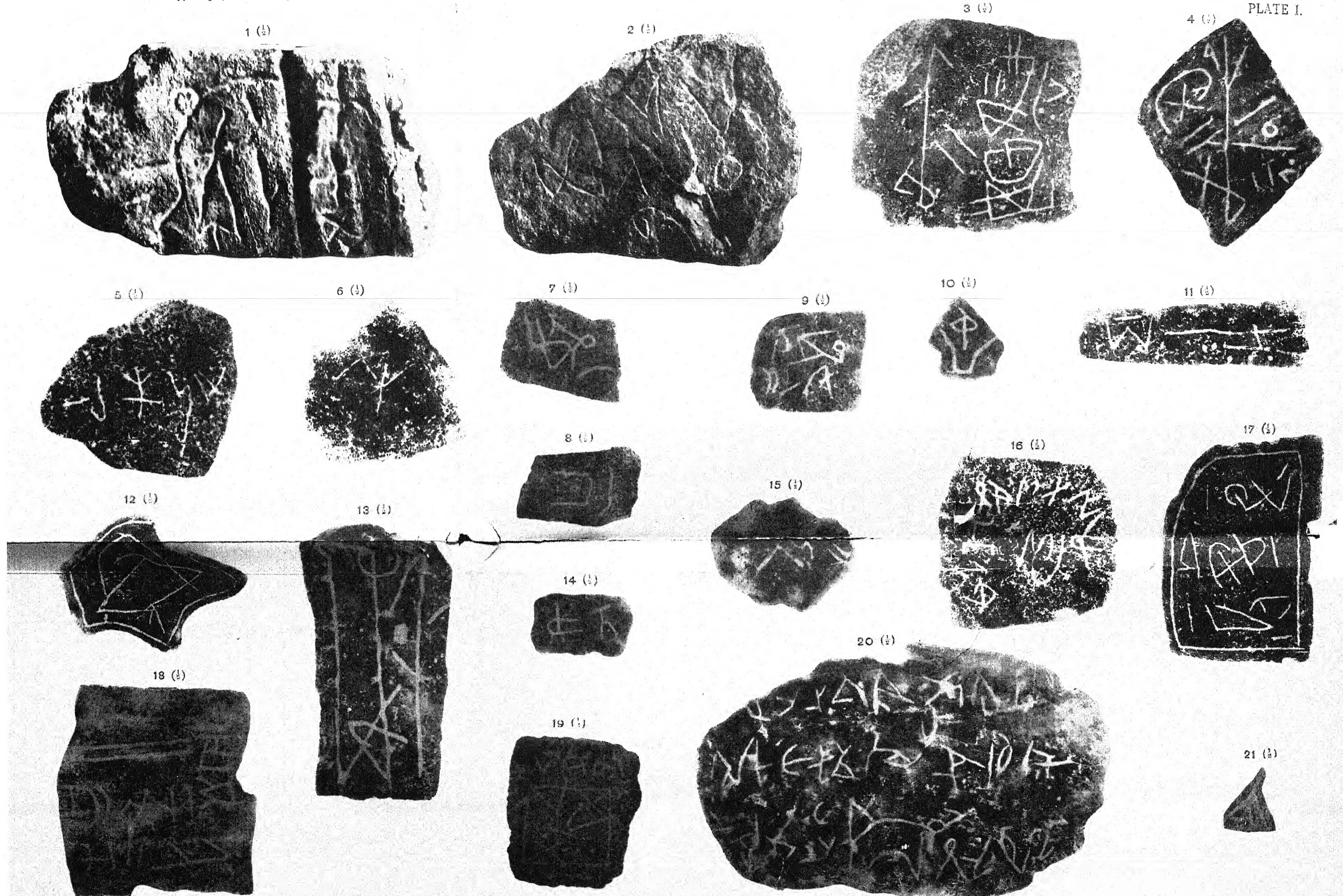
³ Toynbee's Orissa, p. 21.

ହେଲା । ଏହାଙ୍କୁ ପୁଅ ରାଉତଘର ନାତି ବଡ଼ ଗଞ୍ଜାଧର ପାଟ କୁମାରେ । ଜୁଡୁ ଯୁଦ୍ଧାର ନାତି
 ହରିଶ୍ଚରଣ ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ଏହାଙ୍କୁ ପଦ ହନ୍ତାକାରୀ ବଢ଼ଜେନା । ଘରା କୋଟ ଘର ନାତି
 ବିଷ୍ଣୁନାଥ ମଞ୍ଜୁରାଜେ । ବଢ଼ସ୍ବା ଛାଡ଼ ଦେଇ ପାଟ ମହାଦେଇଙ୍କୁ ପୁଅ । ନିଳକଣ୍ଠ ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ୧ ।
 ବିକ୍ରମ ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ୨ । ପ୍ରତାପ ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ୩ । ଖଣ୍ଡପଡ଼ାଧର ନାତି ଗଦାଧର ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ୧ । ସ୍ଥାନ
 ସିଂହାରେ । ୨ । ଖଲିକୋଟଘର ନାତି । ଗିରିଧର ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ୧ । ସଦାଶିବ ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ୨ ।
 ବାଉରି ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ୩ । ଭରବରେ । ୧ । ରାଉତ ଘର ନାତି । ଅର୍ଜୁନ ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ୨ । ଏରୂପେ ତେର
 ପୁଅ ନାଚୁଣୀ ପୁଅ ପାଞ୍ଚ ଗୋଟୀ । ଏରୂପ ଅଠର ପୁଅ । ଏହାଙ୍କୁ ରାଜତ୍ବରେ ଏ ଗୁମୁଞ୍ଚରକୁ
 ଅସ୍ବତ୍ୟମା ଗୋପନୀୟ ବେଶରେ ଆସି ଥିଲେ । ତାଙ୍କୁ ତେଜର ରାଜା ମହାପୁରୁଷ ବୋଲି ଜାଣି
 ତାଙ୍କୁ ଠାରେ ଭକ୍ତି କଲେ । ତାଙ୍କୁ ପଚାରିଲେ ଆତ୍ମ ଉତ୍ତର ଗୁମୁଞ୍ଚର କିଏ ରାଜତ୍ବ କରନ୍ତି ।
 ପଚାରିବାରୁ ତହିଁକି ସେ କହିଲେ । ତୁମ୍ଭ ପୁଅମାନଙ୍କୁ ରାଜତ୍ବ ନାହିଁ । ତହିଁ ଉତ୍ତର
 ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ ଭଞ୍ଜ ଥାଟ ରଜାଙ୍କୁ ପୁଅ । ଋଷ୍ଟନାଥ ଦକ୍ଷିଣର ଯେ । ଘନ ଭଞ୍ଜେ । ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଶିଖର
 ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ । ଜଡୁ ଭରବରେ । ଶ୍ରୀମନ୍ଦିର ବିଧାରେ । ମକୁନ୍ଦ ଭଞ୍ଜେ ରାଜାପିତାମେ । ଏରୂପେ
 ତାଙ୍କୁ କପୁଅଙ୍କୁ ଦେଖିଲେ । ଏହାଙ୍କୁ ଦେଖି ବୋଲି କାହାଠାରେ ରାଜଚିହ୍ନ ନାହିଁ । ଧନିଆ
 ଉତ୍ତର ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ ଭଞ୍ଜ ଥାଟ ରଜାଙ୍କୁ ପୁଅ ଧନିଆ ହେବ । ଏପରି ସେ କହିବାରୁ ତାହା
 ମନରେ ରଖିଥିଲେ । ଧନସ୍ଥ ଭଞ୍ଜ ରାଜଭୋଗ ଇଚ୍ଛାରେ ରହି ଭାଇ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ ଭଞ୍ଜ ଥାଟ
 ରଜାଙ୍କୁ ମୁଲୁକ ବେମାର ସମର୍ପଣ କରି ଥାନ୍ତି । ଏ ସମୟରେ ଶୁଆଗି ମହାଦେଇ
 ଛାଡ଼ୁଦେଇ ଠାରେ ରଜାଙ୍କୁ ବଡ଼ ଶେଢ଼ ଥାଏ । ସେ ମହାଦେଇ ପୁଅ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କୁ
 ଶାଢ଼ୀ ଦେବ ବୋଲି କଞ୍ଜାନ୍ତି । ଗଞ୍ଜାଧର ପାଟ କୁମାରଙ୍କୁ ଠାରେ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ ଭଞ୍ଜ ଥାଟ
 ରଜାଙ୍କୁ କପୁଅ ପ୍ରୀତିକରି ଥାନ୍ତି । ଛାଡ଼ୁଦେଇ ତାହା ଶୁଣି ରଜାଙ୍କୁ ଠାରେ ବିମନ କରି
 ଯିବା କହିଲେ । ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ ଭଞ୍ଜ ଥାଟ ରଜାଙ୍କୁ କପୁଅ ସମେତରେ ରାଜ୍ୟର ଅନ୍ତର କରାଇ
 ଦେଲେ । ସେ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦ ଭଞ୍ଜ ଥାଟ ରଜା ପାଞ୍ଚ ପୁଅଙ୍କୁ ଘେନି ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବାହାରି ଗଲେ । ଘନ
 ଭଞ୍ଜେ ଘରାକୋଟ ଜମିଦାରୀ ଥିଲେ ରହିଲେ । ଏତଦ୍ବାରୁ ରଜା ବଢ଼ତ କାଳ ଜୀବିବାରୁ
 ଛାଡ଼ୁଦେଇ ବିଚାରିଲେ । ଏତ ବଢ଼ତ କାଳ ରାଜତ୍ବ କଲେ ପୁଅ ଭରବ ରଜା ହୋଇ ନ
 ପାରିଲା । ଏମନ୍ତ ଦୁର୍ବିଚାର କରି ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରା ନାନି ହାତେ ଦୁଧ ସରକକୁଣ୍ଡା ଖାଇବାରେ
 ସେଥିରେ ବିଷ ଦିଆଇଲେ ପୁଅ ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କୁ ବାପଙ୍କୁ ଏ ସମୟରେ ଅପାୟ ବିଚାର
 କର ବୋଲି କହି ଦେଲେ । ନୀଳକଣ୍ଠ ଭଞ୍ଜ ତାହା ଜାଣି ବାପଙ୍କୁ ମାରିଲେ । ବଡ଼ ଭାଇ ପାଟ
 କୁମାରଙ୍କୁ ରାଜ ଶାଢ଼ୀ ବାନ୍ଧିବି ଆସ ବୋଲିବାରୁ ସେ ଭୟରୁ କବାଟ କିଛି ରହି ଘର
 ନ ବାହାରିଲେ । ତାଙ୍କୁ ଘର କବାଟ ଚିରି ତାଙ୍କୁ ଧରି ହାଣ୍ଡି ପକାଇଲେ । ତାହାଙ୍କୁ ପୁଅ
 ସତ୍ରୁଜୟ ଭଞ୍ଜ ପାଞ୍ଚେରି ଚିରି ପକାଇଥିଲେ । ଦନ୍ତା ଦୟା ବୋଲି ବାଲେଶ୍ଵର କାଣ୍ଡ
 ବିଧିବାରୁ କାଣ୍ଡ ବାଧିବାରେ ପଢ଼ିବାରୁ ବେଢ଼ିକରି ହାଣ୍ଡି ପକାଇଲେ । ଏ ସତ୍ରୁଜୟ ଭଞ୍ଜଙ୍କୁ

भार्या गर्भ होइथिले । ताह्याङ्कु नेइ बन्दि करि रखी नीलकण्ठ भञ्जे राजत
 कले १६२५ शकाब्द शरित्ति व २२ र्ष । ए भितरे धराकोटरे थिवा घन भञ्जे
 सुखीले । तीन पुरुष मारि नीलकण्ठ भञ्जे राया हेले वोलि । से खवर शुणी
 घन भञ्जे करडामाळकु शुच करि करडामाळरे प्रवेश हेले । सेठारे रहि
 करडा मालुआ लोकङ्कु पठोआइ वन्दिरे थिवा सत्रुयय भञ्जङ्कु भार्या
 मण्डादेइङ्कु आसिना माशि पर्व उक्कव गहळरे कुलाड गडठारु चोराइ घेनि
 गले । ताङ्कु नेइ वारवारे रखाइले । सेठारे ताङ्कर रणभञ्जी वोलिवार पुअ गोटी-
 ए यन्म हेले । से पुअङ्कु घन भञ्ज घेनि राजवंस पुअ ए वोलि समस्त माळ
 कन्दङ्कु देखाइ ताङ्कु आयत्त करि लण्णकर तसकर घेनि नीलकण्ठ भञ्जङ्कु उपरे
 फेवर लगाइले । ओड़ीश्यारे थिवा घनभञ्जङ्कु वापे गोविन्द भञ्ज घाट रजा ए
 दीगरु लण्णकर धरि लुआगां गड़ जमिदारिकु आयत्त करि अमाइतङ्कु आयत्त
 करि विशेष नण्णकर धरि ए दिगरु घेर देले । एपरि दुइ आडरे घेर देखि
 नीलकण्ठ भञ्ज रहि न पारि राज्य काडि वाहारि गले । से वाहारि थिवाख
रणभञ्जङ्कु राजधानिरे वसाइ गोविन्द भञ्ज घाट रजा वेभारक होइथिले ए
१६२६ शकाब्द शरित्ति व ०४ र्ष ।

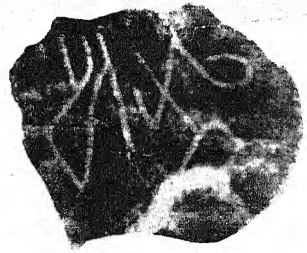
MS. Gumusara Bamsābālī.



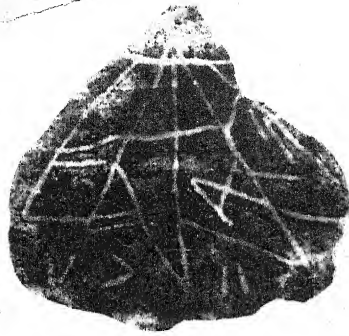


MAJOR DEANE'S NEW INSCRIPTIONS.

22 ($\frac{1}{2}$)



23 ($\frac{1}{2}$)



24 ($\frac{1}{2}$)



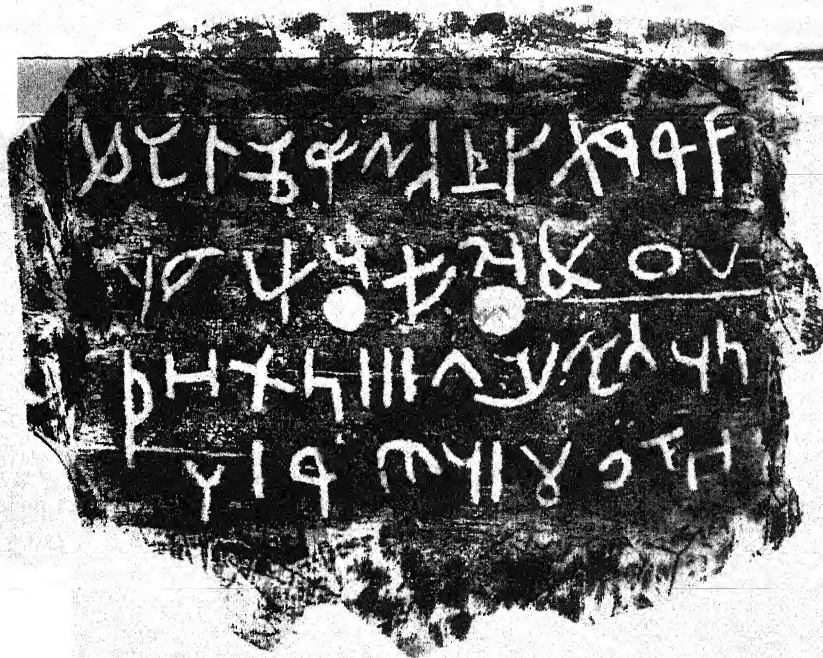
25 ($\frac{1}{2}$)



26 ($\frac{1}{2}$)



27 ($\frac{1}{2}$)



29 ($\frac{1}{2}$)



30 ($\frac{1}{2}$)



28 ($\frac{1}{2}$)



32 (i) LEFT



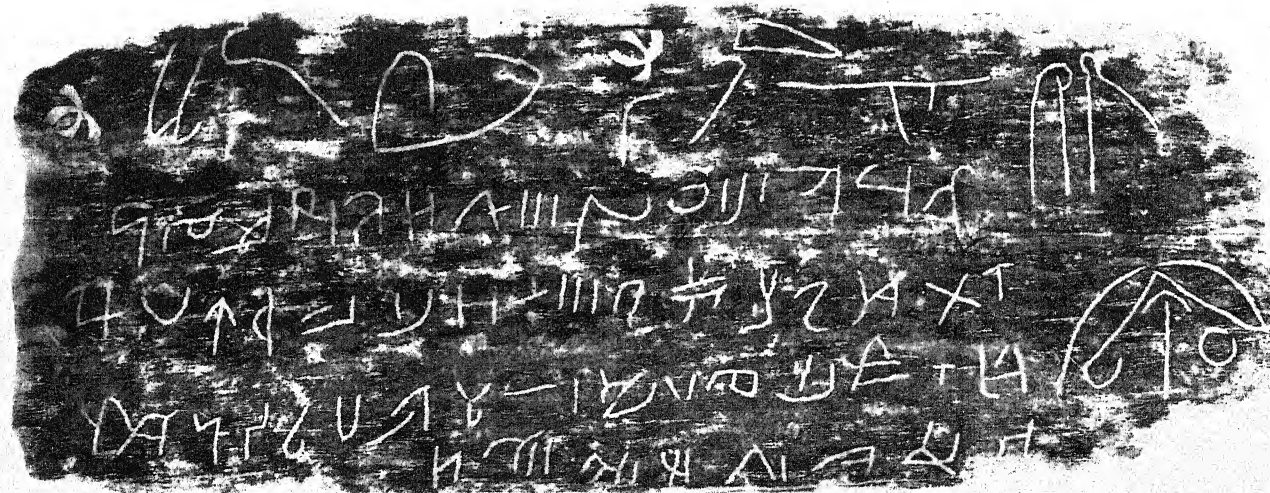
32 (i) RIGHT



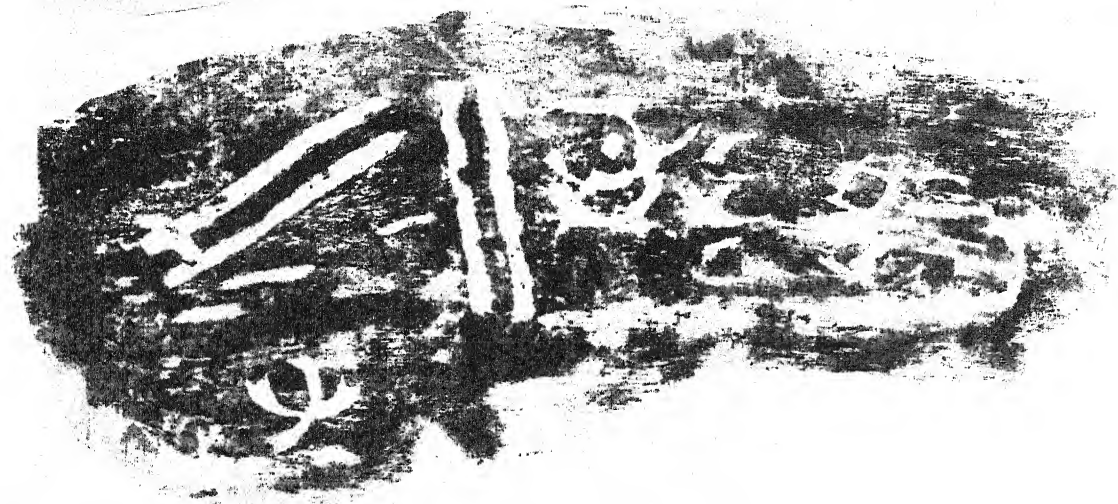
31 (i)



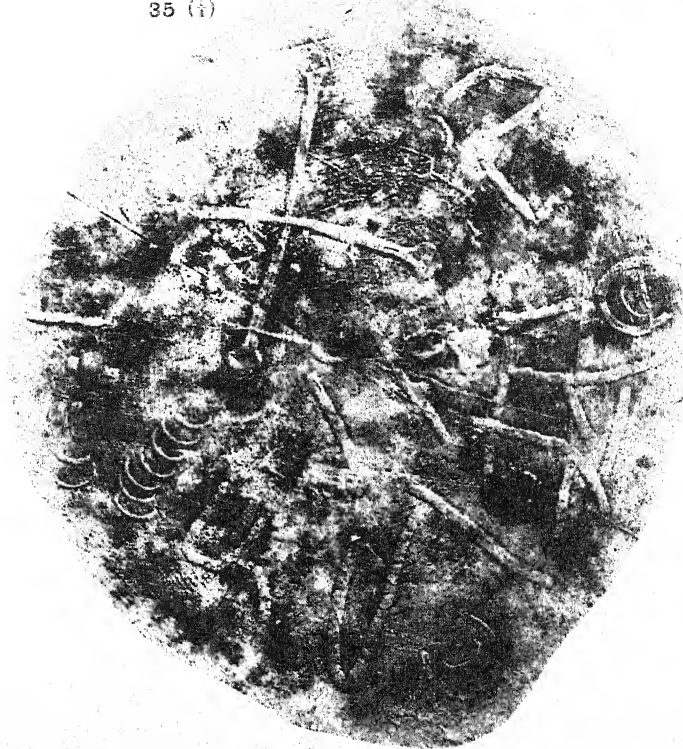
33 (i)



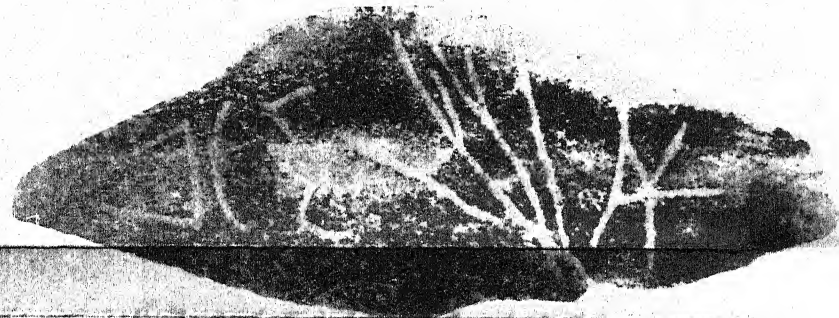
34. (1)



35. (1)



36. (1) OBVERSE



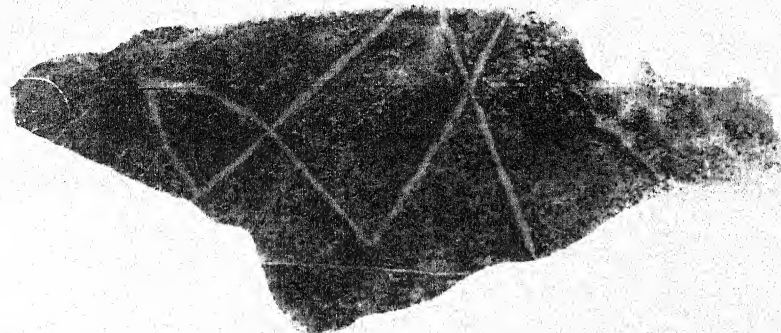
37. (1)



38. (1)



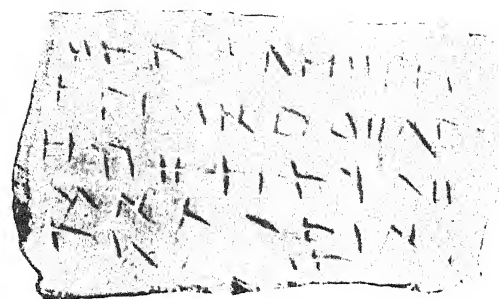
36. (1) REVERSE



39 (i)



40 (i)



41 (i)



42 (i)



43 (i)



44 (i)



45 (i)



46 (i)



47 (i)



48 (i)



49 (i)



51 (i)

OBVERSE

REVERSE



50 (i)

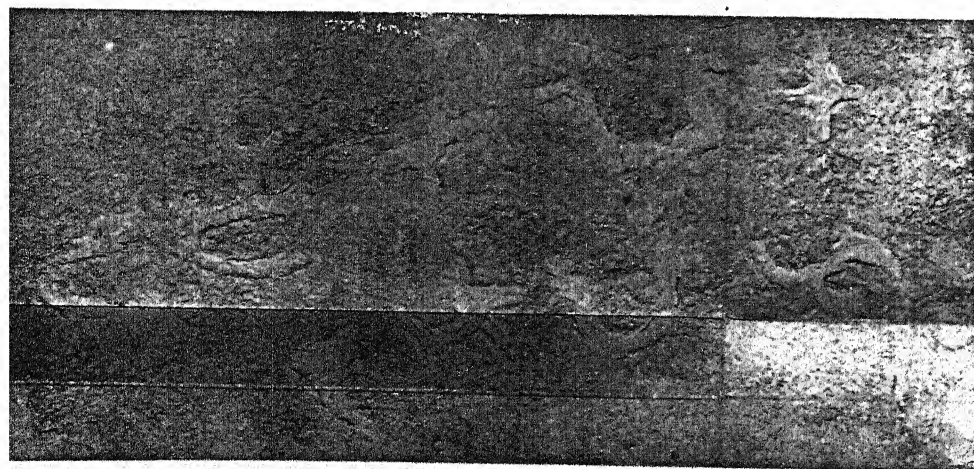


MAJOR DEANE'S NEW INSCRIPTIONS.

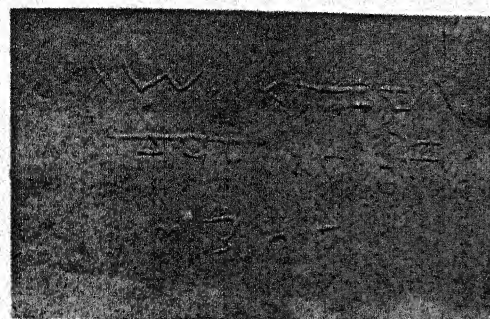
52 (i)



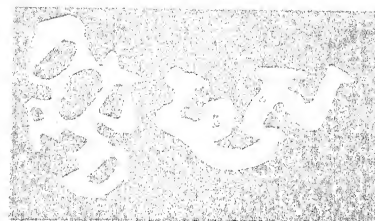
53 (i)



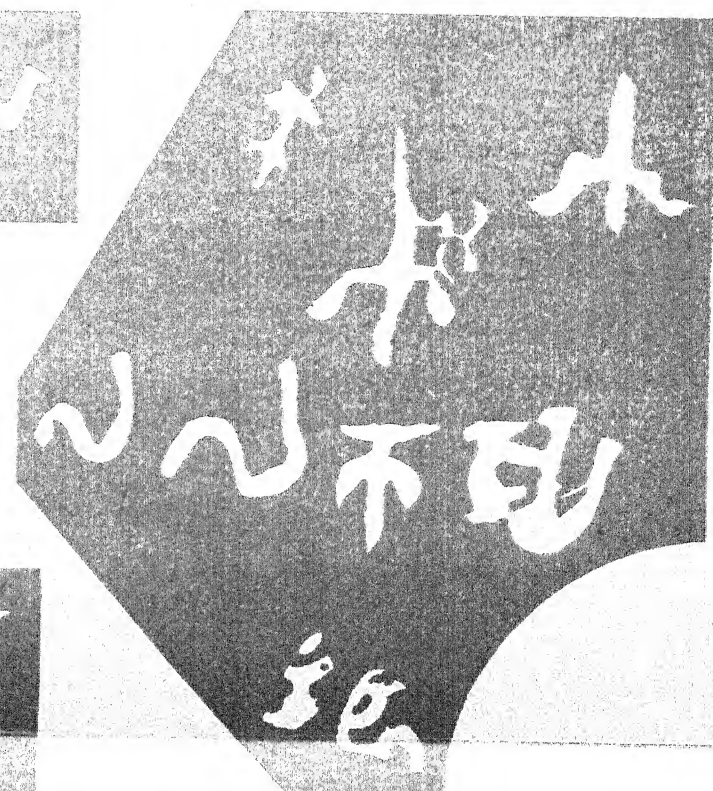
54 (i)



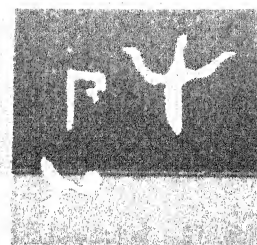
55 (i)



56 (i)



57 (i)



58 (i)



59 (i)



60 (i)

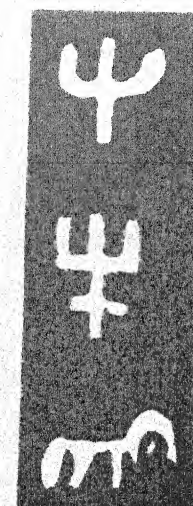
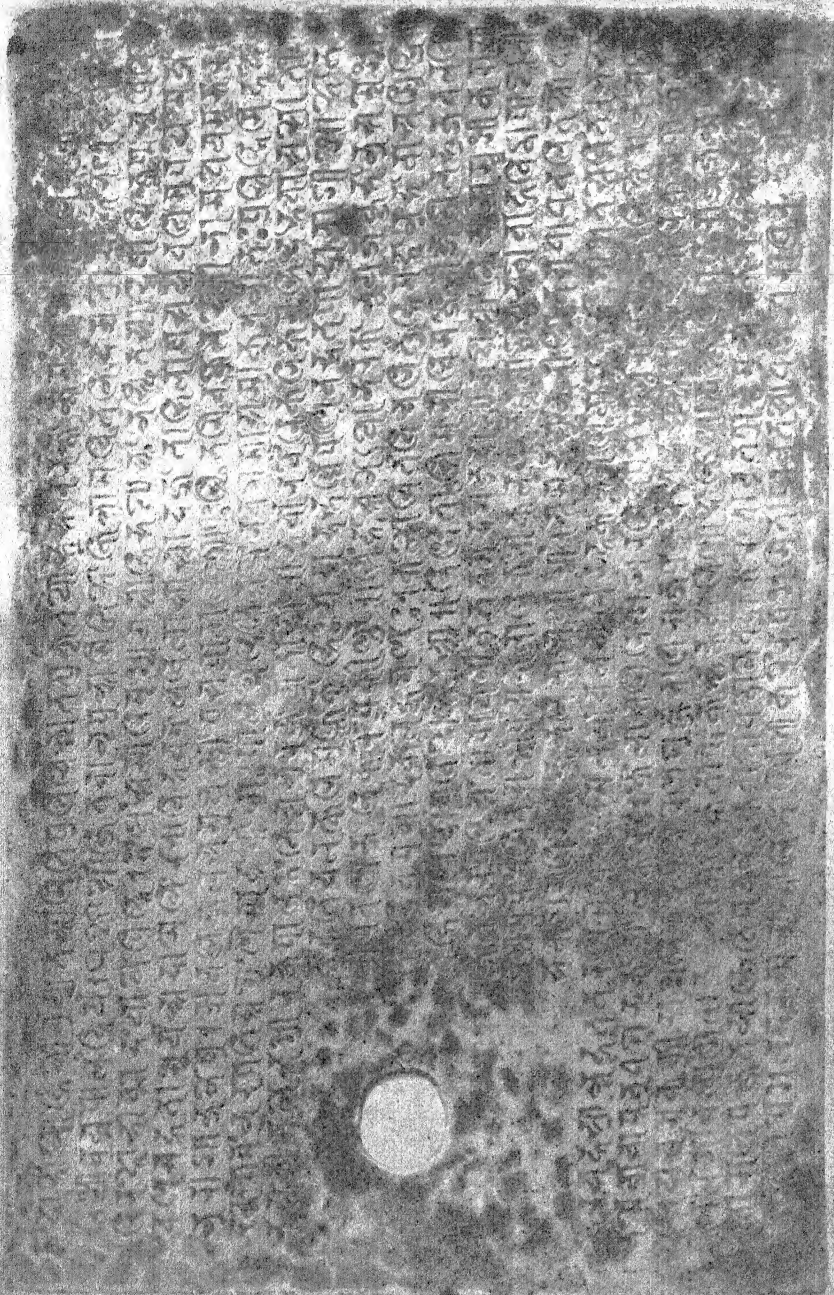


PLATE 1. REVERSE.

[The page contains handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is largely illegible due to significant fading and blurring. A large circular hole or stain is visible near the top center.]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

COPPER PLATE GRANT OF RATNAKALA VALI

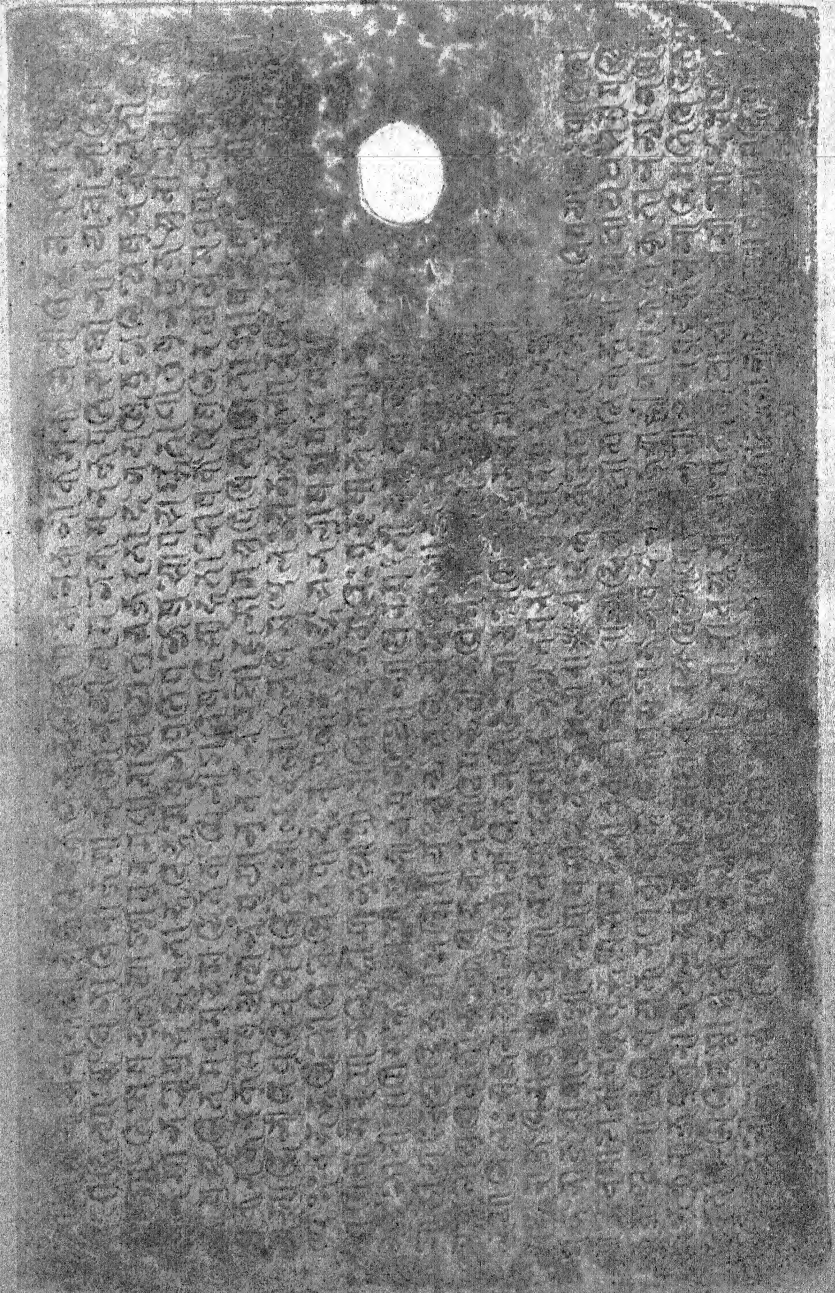


18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37.

DEVA OF PRAGJYOTISA, (UNDATED).

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, April, 1898.

PLATE II. REVERSE



38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RATNAPALA



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72

PRAGA DEVA OF PRAGJYOTISA, (UNDATED)

Survey of India Offices Calcutta, April 1898.



COPPER PLATE GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA VARMA DĒVA OF PRĀGJYŌTIŚA, THE SEAL, (UNDATED)

(SCALE $\frac{1}{4}$)

Photo-etching.

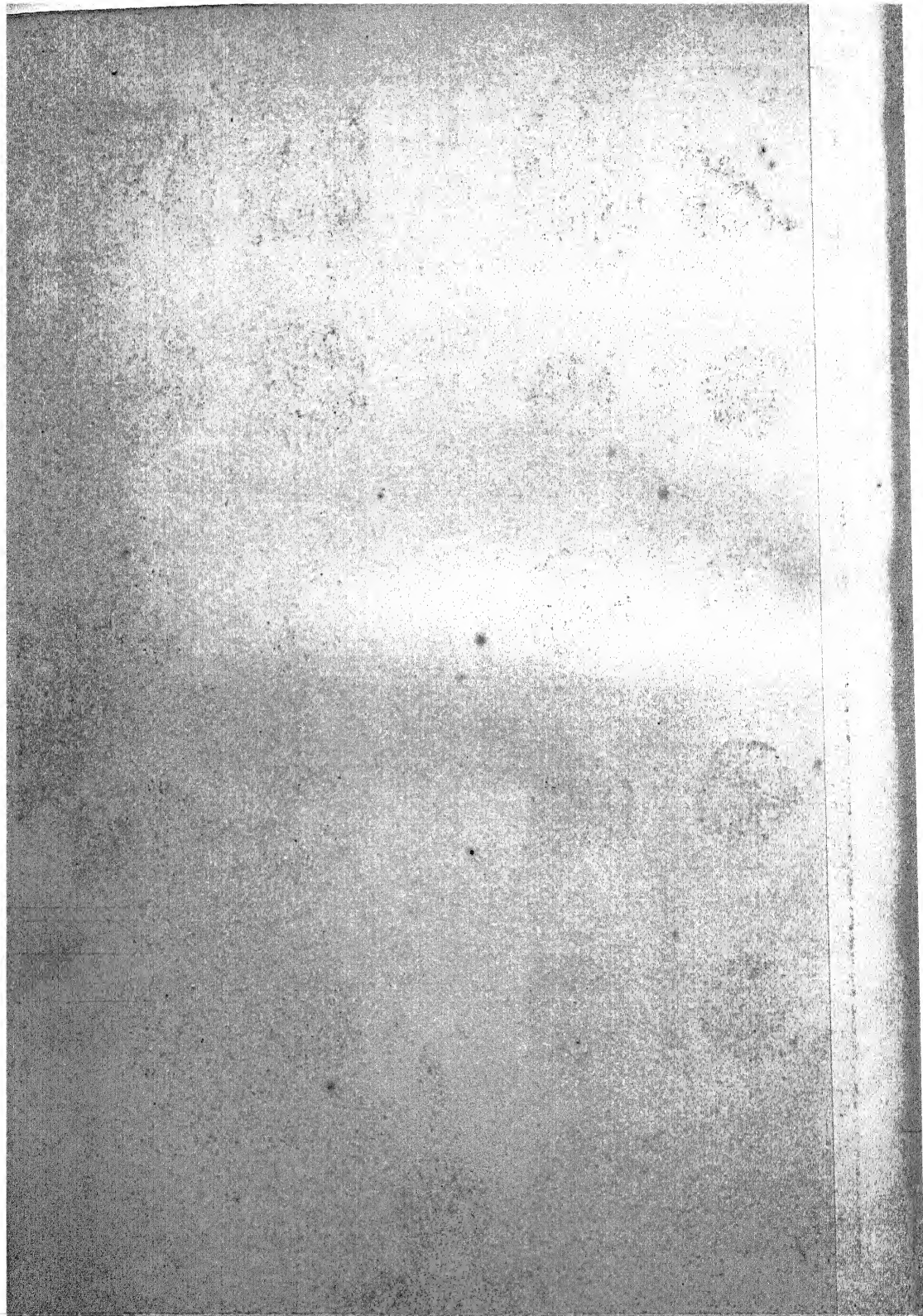
Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, April, 1898.

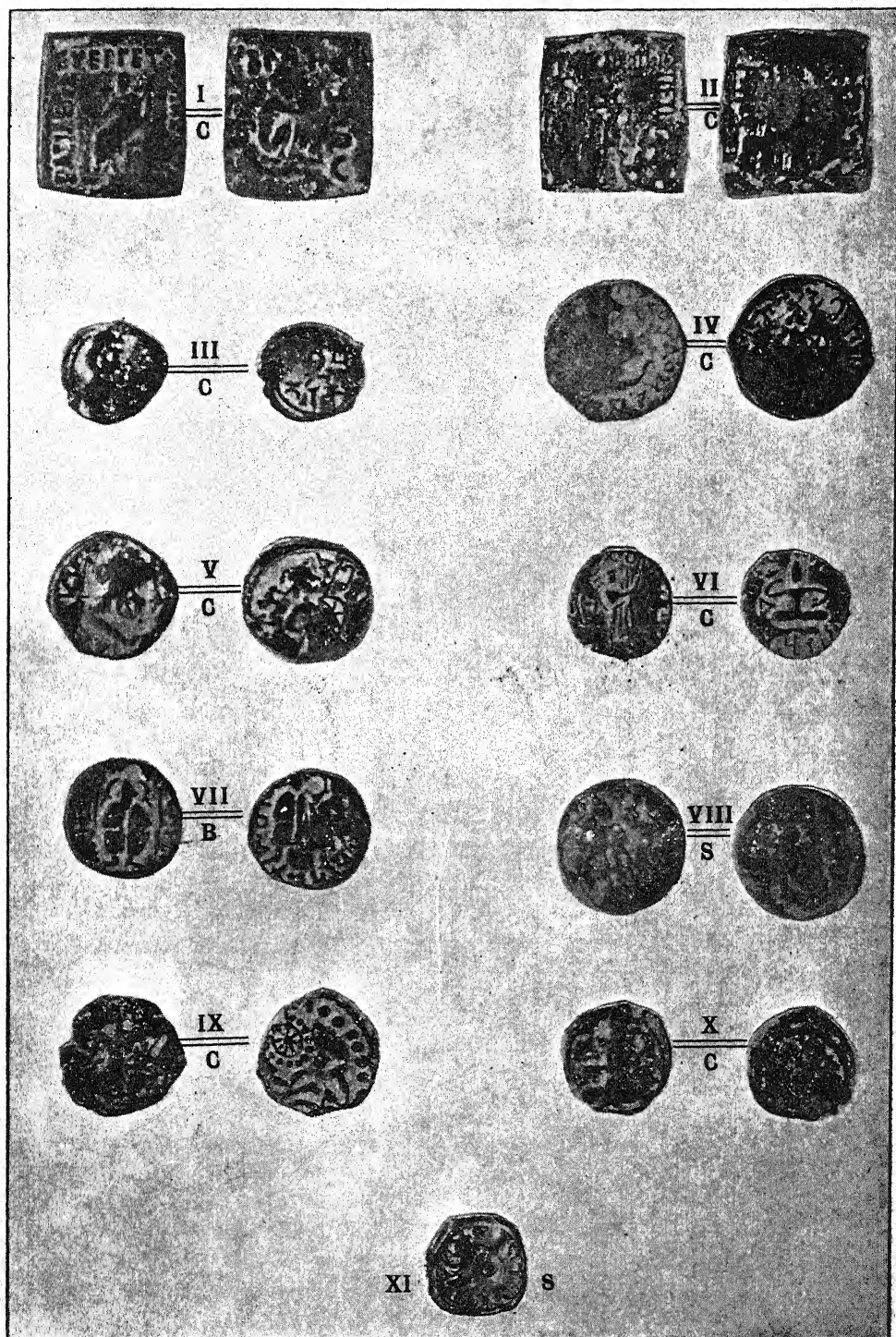
| Ser. No. | Name of King. | Date A. D. (about.) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Final <i>ru</i> | | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|----------|----------------|---------------------|----------|----------|---|----------|---|------|----------------|---------|---|-----------------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|
| | | | <i>r</i> | <i>y</i> | | Anusvara | | Full | Trunc-
ated | Special | | Full | Special | Full | Special | Full | Special | Full | Special |
| 1 | Dharma Pāla | 840 — 875 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 |
| 2 | Nārāyaṇa Pāla | 925 — 950 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 |
| 3 | Bala Varman | 975 — 1000 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 |
| 4 | Ratna Pāla | 1010 — 1050 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 |
| 5 | Indra Pāla | 1050 — 1070 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 |
| 6 | Vijaya Śeṇa | 1070 — 1090 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 |
| 7 | Lakṣmaṇa Śeṇa | 1119 — 1145 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 |
| 8 | Vaidya Dēva | 1140 — 1160 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 |
| 9 | Modern Bangālī | | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 | 𑂔 |



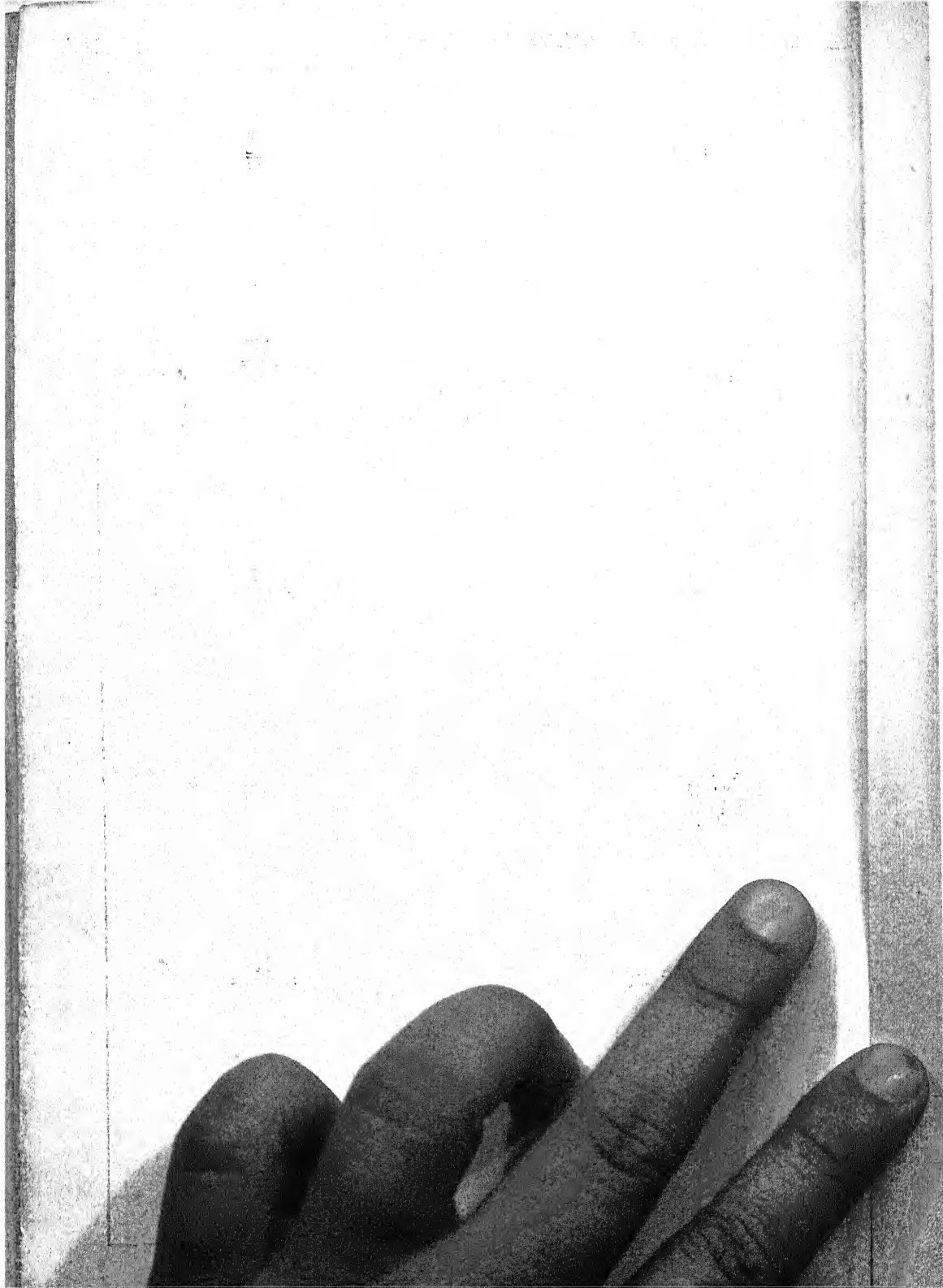
COPPER PLATE GRANT OF RATNAPALA. THE SEAL.

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Numismatic Novelties.



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TO THE

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